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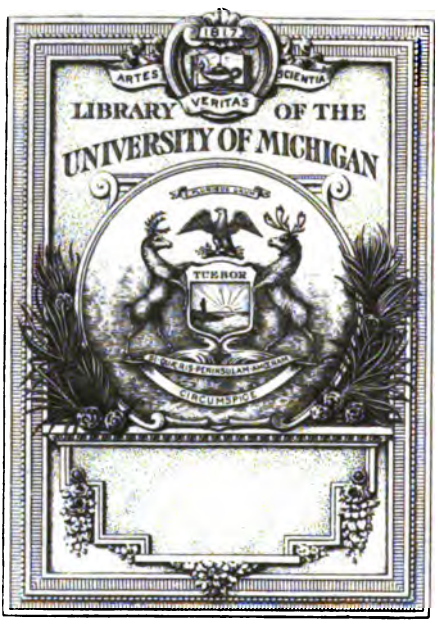
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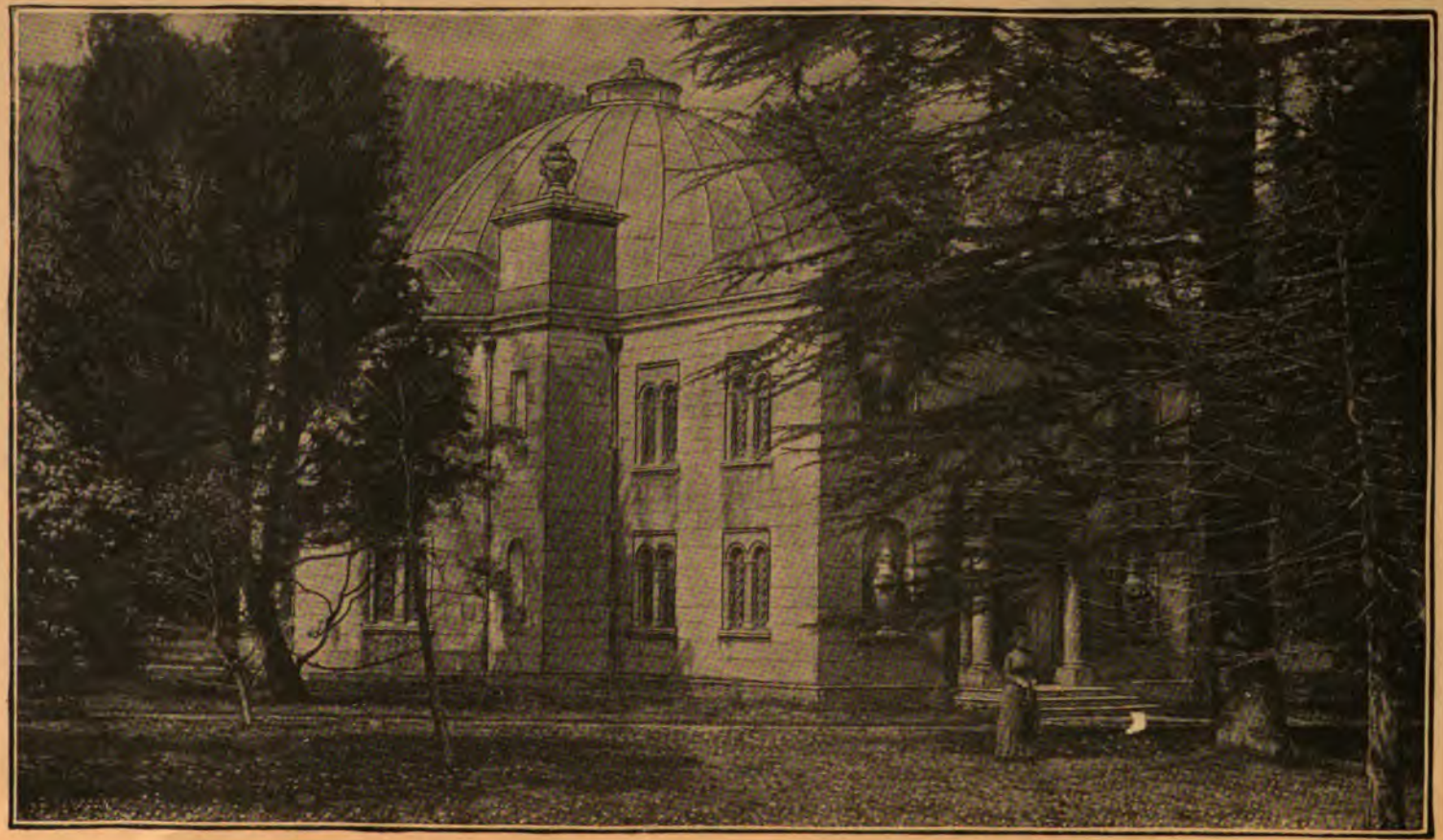
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CHAPEL AT LULWORTH CASTLE, ENGLAND, WHERE BISHOP CARROLL WAS CONSECRATED

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE

MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL,

BISHOP AND FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

EMBRACING THE

HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

1763–1815.

WITH PORTRAITS, VIEWS, AND FAC-SIMILES.

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.



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PREFACE.

THE volume here offered to the patrons of the work embraces the History of the Catholic Church in the United States, in the original diocese of Baltimore and in that of Louisiana and the Floridas, carrying the narrative from 1763 to 1815. In the growth of Catholicity during that period the Most Reverend John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic of the United States, Bishop of Baltimore, and first Archbishop of that See, stands as a noble and central figure for nearly thirty years of that half century the controlling and guiding mind in the affairs of the Church. Only during the last decade of colonial days was he absent from his native land: then his priestly labors began; he witnessed the struggle for national existence, full of patriotic sympathy and giving his country's cause all the support compatible with his sacred calling.

The efforts of Bishop Challoner at an early date to be relieved of his responsibility for the transatlantic portion of his flock, and to obtain the appointment of a Vicar-Apostolic: the difficulties that arose, and the subsequent project of extending the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec to Pennsylvania and Maryland when the conquest of Canada had brought all Northern America under the British sway, have never yet been made known. Researches in the archives in England, Canada, and Rome, for which I am

especially indebted to His Eminence Cardinal Taschereau, Canon Johnson, Very Rev. H. Van den Sanden, and Very Rev. Charles A. Vissani, O.S.F., have enabled me to give a connected account of this interesting movement. For the history of the Church in this country at that period I have drawn mainly on the archives of the Society of Jesus and on a series of letters by Father Joseph Mosley, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Alex. T. Knight.

The part taken by Catholics during the Revolution had been so strangely misrepresented, that it was necessary to present the truth distinctly, and to give some notes of the action of the Chaplain of the French embassy, as well as of what little can be ascertained of the clergymen who accompanied the French army and fleets. The part taken by the Catholics northwest of the Ohio could not be overlooked. Documents obtained from the late Father Freitag, C.SS.R., the Quebec Archives, the Registers of Detroit, Vincennes, Fort Chartres, and Kaskaskia have been used carefully.

After the Revolution the organization of the Clergy, the steps taken to obtain an Ecclesiastical superior, the strange intrigue to place this country under a bishop to reside in France, and the final appointment of Dr. Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic, are presented at length by the aid of the Maryland records, extracts from the archives of France and Spain, for which I am indebted to Mr. Robert de Crêvecœur, and the Hon. J. S. M. Curry, U. S. Minister to the Court of Spain, and to Señor Santa Maria, Custodian of the Archives.

The correspondence and papers of Archbishop Carroll from 1785, for which I am greatly indebted to the late Rev. Charles I. White, D.D., and Bernard U. Campbell, and to the unceasing kindness of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, have been the guide in tracing his Episcopal career, with the archives of the Maryland province, the writings of

Messrs. Dilhet and Tessier of Saint Sulpice and documents placed at my disposal by Very Rev. A. L. Magnien, Superior of St. Mary's, Baltimore, as well as local information and notes from many sources. I am indebted for important aid to the Fathers of the University College, Dublin, and to the Provincial of the English Province, as well as to Wm. S. Preston, Esq., and the late Ambrose A. White.

For the illustrations I have given credit in various parts of the work, but I must express special indebtedness for information and aid to Miss E. C. Brent, of Washington, to the Weld family of Lulworth Castle, as well as to the Carmelite nuns, S. M. Sener, Esq., and Professor J. F. Edwards and his great work, "The Bishops' Memorial Hall," at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

To Major Edmond Mallet, Oscar W. Collet, Rev. W. P. Treacy, as well as to Right Rev. John Moore, D.D., Bishop of St. Augustine, and Right Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D.D., Bishop of Covington, and Most Rev. Cornelius O'Brien, D.D., Archbishop of Halifax, and the Most Rev. Michael A. Corrigan, D.D., Archbishop of New York, I return thanks for constant and valuable assistance.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

ELIZABETH, N. J., July 22, 1888.

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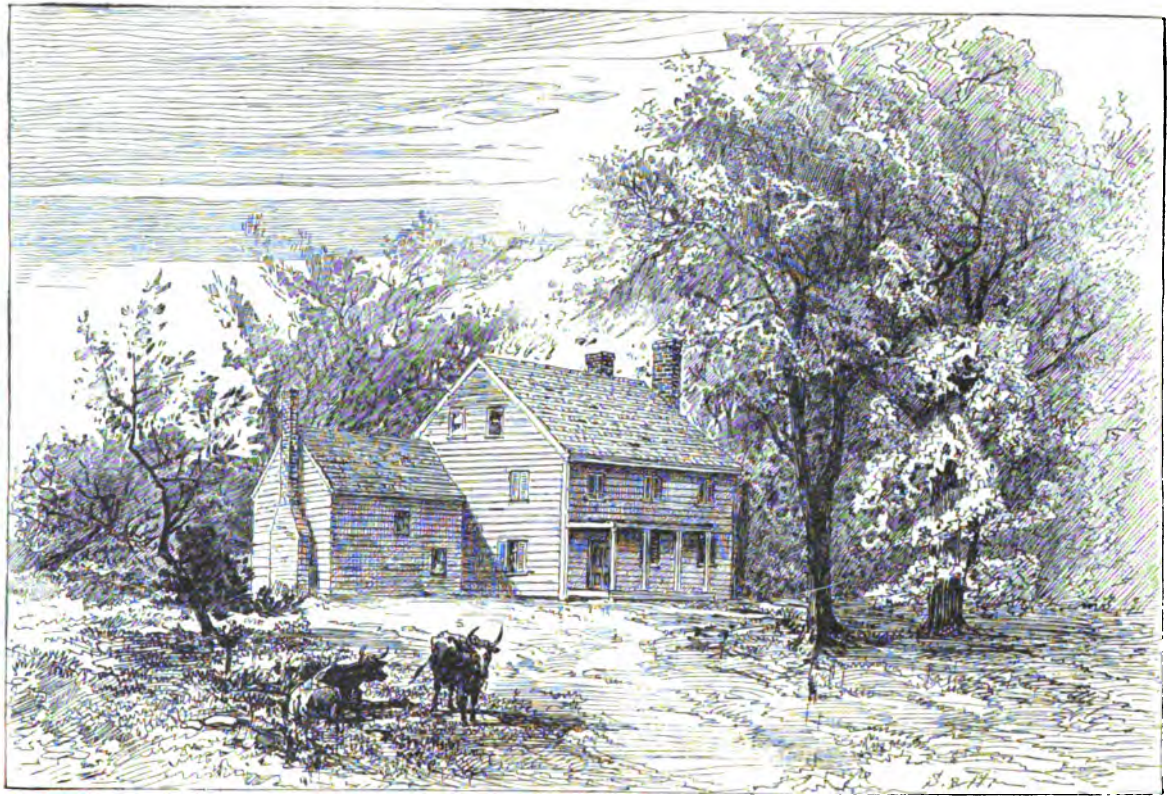
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BIRTHPLACE OF ARCHBISHOP CARROLL, UPPER MARLBORO', MD.

[From a water-color by W. Seymour, executed in 1884.]

BOOK I.

LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN CARROLL TO HIS CONSECRATION AS BISHOP OF BALTIMORE.—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES 1763–1790.

CHAPTER I.

HIS LIFE TO HIS RETURN TO MARYLAND IN 1774.

The Catholic Church is a fact and a factor in the life of our republic. In spite of the antagonism shown in former days by the English government and the colonial legislatures, in spite of the bitter opposition of most Protestant sects, in spite of the Protestant bias and tone of our Federal and State systems, our public schools, our press and literature, the Catholic Church grows. It has attained such a development in the country that it numbers probably eight millions who actually profess its faith, and receive its ordinances, with perhaps some two or three millions more, who, led by hope of advancement or sinking into indifference, assume a kind of neutral position, apt to adhere to their religion if it suits their worldly prospects, inclined to ignore it for social or political ends. The influence of such a body, regarding only those who maintain the faith, unison in creed, worship, discipline, religious thought, and impulse, upon the country and its future, is certainly worthy of serious thought and consideration. To understand the actual position of the Catholic Church it is necessary to trace its past, and appreciate duly

the men and events which more potently controlled its life and polity.

Among these the Most Reverend John Carroll, first Bishop and first Archbishop of Baltimore, holds a commanding place. Pious, learned, sagacious, conversant with the character and ideas of the ruling classes in England, and the condition of those who suffered under the penal laws; a careful observer of the condition of affairs on the Continent, where atheism by the operation of secret societies had gained power among rulers and nobles, only to affect their ruin, he had taken a patriotic part in the struggle of America for freedom, and in full harmony with the providentially great statesmen of that critical time, sought to base the foundations of our new republic on the solid ground of eternal justice. Great experience, great trials patiently and hopefully borne, great prudence, sound judgment, the purest patriotism, intelligent loyalty to the Church of which he was an unblemished minister, fitted him in the highest degree for moulding into a body of active zeal and faith the little nucleus of Catholics in the country, which had for more than a century been under the ban of England's penal laws, copied with features of singular malignity in the colonies.

How admirably Dr. Carroll accomplished the important and delicate task confided to him, is recognized in the veneration ever since paid to his name, not only in the great and prosperous Church that has grown up from the small beginnings which he fostered, but in the universal judgment of impartial men who have had occasion to speak of him.

Notwithstanding penal laws and laws to prevent the immigration, especially of Irish Catholics, into the province of Maryland, a few arrived from time to time; among them, soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century, was Daniel Carroll, son of Keane, a native of Ireland, but related

by ties of consanguinity to the family of that name already prominent in the province. He became a thriving merchant and in time married Eleanor,[1] the daughter of Henry Darnall of Woodyard, a lady who had received a finished education in France, and who displayed, in forming the character of her children, a mind enriched with piety and every accomplishment to fit her for the task. John Carroll was born January 8, 1735, at Upper Marlborough, Prince George's County, Maryland, where his father had established his home. The house where the patriarch of the Catholic Church in this country first saw the light is still standing, but a dark grove of murmuring pines covers the site of Boone's chapel, where he was probably baptized, and in childhood went with his parents to kneel before the altar of God. The graveyard of the present church of the Holy Rosary was used in those old days, and probably holds the remains of some of his kindred. John Carroll's boyhood, under the training of his excellent mother, gave him the ease, dignity, and polish which marked him through life. At the age of twelve he was sent to the seat of learning which the Jesuits, notwithstanding the penal laws, had established at Hermen's Manor of Bohemia, on the eastern shore of Maryland. Here as Jacky Carroll he prepared for the course in the Jesuit College at St. Omer. Ever devoted to the education of youth, this learned order had, whenever opportunity offered, endeavored to give the sons of Catholic settlers the classical and moral training befitting their social station, but under a hostile government the existence of such academies always proved a short one. They had opened a school in Maryland soon after the settlement, of which we get occasional glimpses; then a Latin school in

[1] The name Eleanor was a family one of the Darnalls. The oldest gravestone at St. Thomas', Charles Co., is of "Eleanor Darnall, 9 May, 1705."

New York, under the administration of Governor Dongan, and early in the next century these zealous missionaries selected a site which they had acquired at Bohemia, on a branch of the Elk, for a new institution. The college and chapel bore the name of St. Xaverius, and stood within half a mile of the boundary line of the three counties on the Delaware, the site having been selected, perhaps, to facilitate removal, in case of necessity, beyond the jurisdiction of Maryland officials, the more humane policy of Penn's colony affording a safe refuge. An old chapel still stands in a fair state of preservation, but the grass of the lawn covers the site where the little college stood when Carroll attended it,[1] though the ancient wrought-iron cross brought over by Calvert, that marks the spot, was probably a venerable relic there even in his day.

At the academy in Bohemia young Carroll, entering about 1747, had as fellow-scholars his relative, Charles Carroll, the future signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Robert Brent. The talent, love of study, and solidity of character shown by young John's pious and amiable life, proved that opportunities for a higher and more thorough course would not be lost by him. The institutions of learning then established in the colonies and the great universities of England were in that day closed to the Catholic pupil; nor was liberty granted the oppressed adherents of the ancient faith to found and endow schools and colleges for the education of their children. The only resource for Catholics lay in the coun-

[1] "Of this school, which may be called the predecessor of Georgetown, no history is preserved: even the building in which it was held was pulled down fifty years ago." Woodstock Letters, vol. vii., p. 4. For the early Catholic Grammar Schools, see an article by Rev. W. P. Treacy, "U. S. Catholic Hist. Mag.," i., p. 71. There were Jesuit schools in England also to which Maryland Catholics sent their sons. "The Present State of Popery in England," London, 1788, p. 19.

tries on the Continent where their faith was professed. At various points, Rome, Douay, Louvain, Paris, Seville, Coimbra, St. Omer, Salamanca, colleges were built and endowed to give the sons of Catholics in the British dominions an opportunity to acquire an education suited to their rank in life.[1] The generous aid from large-hearted people in all lands helped to create and endow these institutions; still, there were but a favored few Catholics in America who could afford to send their sons and daughters beyond the sea. Laws forbade them to obtain an education at home, laws punished them for sending their children abroad, yet many a family, like one from which the writer springs, risked all for the good of their off spring, and lost it. Probably the laws of no nation contain such a series of enactments, aimed at reducing a class of its subjects to ignorance, as do those of Great Britain and her colonies.

The effect of this continental education on the young Catholic gentlemen and gentlewomen was clearly seen. As a class they were far superior in the last century to their Protestant neighbors, who, educated at home, were narrow and insular in their ideas, ignorant of modern languages, and of all that was going on beyond their county limits and its fox hunts and races. The Catholic, on the contrary, was conversant with several languages, with the current literature of Europe, the science of the day, with art and the great galleries where the masterpieces of painting and sculpture could be seen. He returned to England or his colonial home after forming acquaintance with persons of distinction and influence, whose correspondence retained and enlarged the knowledge he had acquired.

[1] Petre, "Notices of the English Colleges and Convents established on the Continent," Norwich, 1849; Treacy, "Irish Scholars of the Penal Days—Glimpses of their Labors on the Continent," New York, 1887.

Young John Carroll, it was soon determined, should pursue a thorough course at the great Jesuit college in the town of St. Omer in French Flanders. A year spent in preliminary study at Bohemia prepared him and his fellow-students to enter that great institution founded by the English Jesuits about 1590, aided in no small degree by Philip II. of Spain.[1] It opened with thirty-three pupils, but its average was above a hundred for a long series of years, and sometimes nearly two hundred filled its classes. The course was very thorough, and St. Omer's College enjoyed a high reputation for the proficiency of its students in Latin, and especially in Greek. One peculiarity of its system was that during dinner a student could be called upon by the rector to speak extemporaneously on any subject. It was rare that some visitors, often men of high rank, were not in the refectory, and the readiness and skill with which the scholars rose and spoke, with no time or notes to prepare a discourse, were a subject of universal astonishment.

In this great institution, John Carroll spent six years, and even among its brilliant scholars won a high reputation. His father did not long survive his departure, dying in Maryland in 1750.[2] At the close of their course of rhetoric, the collegians

[1] Woodstock Letters, vii., p. 5.

[2] "My father" [Daniel Carroll] "died in 1750 and left six children, myself, Ann, John, Ellen, Mary, and Betsy." Letter of Hon. Daniel Carroll, brother of the Archbishop, to James Carroll in Ireland, Dec. 20, 1762. "My eldest sister Ann is married to Mr. Robert Brent in Virginia. They have one child, a son. My brother John was sent abroad for his education on my return, and is now a Jesuit at Liège, teaching philosophy and eminent in his profession. Ellen, my second sister, is married well, to Mr. Wm. Brent in Virginia, near my eldest sister. She has three boys and one girl. My sisters Mary and Betsy are unmarried, and live chiefly with my mother, who is very well." Ib.

The oldest son, Henry, was drowned "when he was a boy at school and

of St. Omer generally proceeded to the Colleges of the Society in Rome or Valladolid to pursue the higher branches of learning. Young Carroll had, however, decided on his vocation. He felt that he was called by Providence to enter the religious life, and attached to the learned and pious priests who had directed his studies, he applied for admission into the Society of Jesus.

The novitiate of the English province of the order was then in an ancient abbey at Watten,[1] a small town about six miles from St. Omer, which the bishop of that city had bestowed upon the Jesuit Fathers. Carroll's virtues and amiable character, as well as ability and studious disposition, caused his application to be favorably received, and in 1753, on the eve of Our Lady's nativity, the favorite day in the English province for entering on the religious life, he was admitted to the novitiate and assumed the habit which a Stanislaus, an Aloysius, an Elphinstone had associated with youthful sanctity. With him as fellow-novices, were Joseph Hathersty destined to labor and die in the Maryland mission; Wm. Horne, Peter Jenkins, George Knight, Joseph Emmott, Joseph Tyrer, all in time zealous and useful members of the Society. A fellow-countryman, Robert Cole, and the future Church historian, Joseph Reeve, were already in the novitiate when he entered. After the two years of retirement devoted to meditation, and training for spiritual life, under Father Henry Corbie, in the novitiate, then composed of some sixteen aspirants, Carroll was sent to the College of the Society at Liège, to prepare for elevation to the priesthood by a course

many years before the death of his father." Deposition of Elizabeth Carroll, 1810.

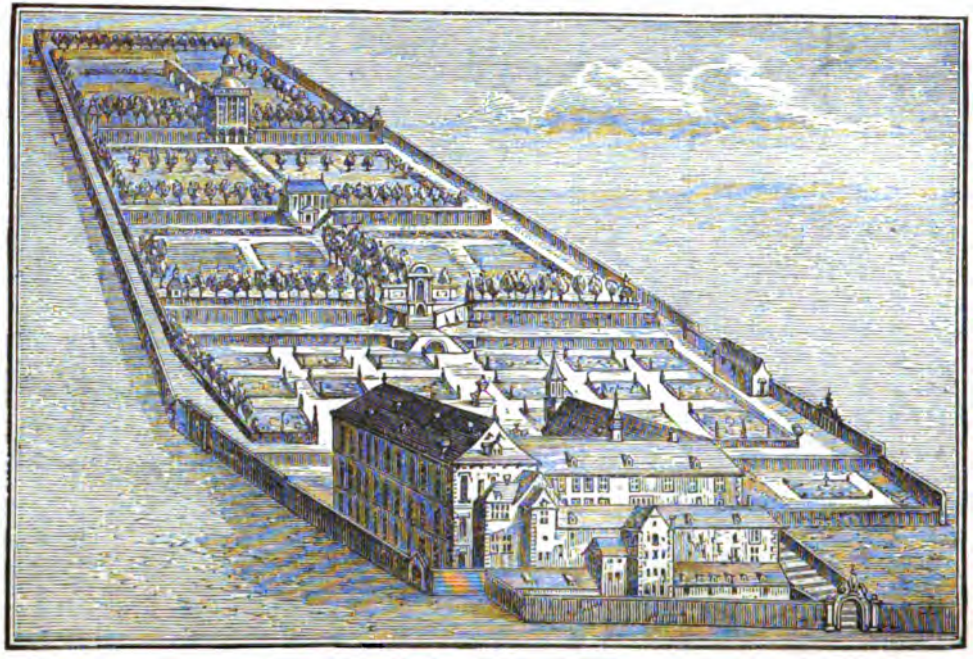
[1] Watten is about two leagues from St. Omer. A convent, once occupied by Regular Canons, was conveyed to the English Jesuits for a novitiate in 1611-2, and finally opened in 1622. Foley, "Records," v., p. 194.

of philosophy and theology, with the kindred sacred studies under Father Charles Rousse or Roels. It is not unusual for the young members of the order to be employed for some years in teaching in the colleges, but Carroll was not thus called away from his preparation for the altar. The scholasticate then numbered about twenty-five pious and talented youth. He was ordained priest in 1769, attesting his mastery of theology by a public defense of his theses.

The young priest was then appointed to a professor's chair at St. Omer, and his ability as a teacher and guide of youth maintained the ancient reputation of that seat of learning. He was next employed at Liège, as professor of philosophy and of theology in the scholasticate, forming young members of the order to be invested with the awful dignity of the priesthood.[1] Whether training young gentlemen for their career in the world, or the scholastics of the order for their future mission duties, the dignified American Jesuit evinced equal judgment and skill.

After a certain number of years in the order, the member of the Society of Jesus takes his final vows. Preparatory to this Father Carroll had renounced in favor of his brother Daniel and his sisters Ann, Ellen, Mary, and Betsy, his claims to the property of his father. The last vows are preceded by a second novitiate of one year, and by an examination in theology. Only those who combine great learning, the highest virtue and ability as directors of souls, are admitted to the class of professed Fathers; most of the members of the Society take the vows of Spiritual Coadjutors formed. In the case of Father John Carroll there was no

[1] Daniel to James Carroll, Dec. 20, 1762. "His theological manuscripts, which he prepared for his own use, either as student or professor, are still preserved in Georgetown College library." Woodstock Letters, vii., p. 6. John Carroll to Daniel Carroll, Liège, May 24, 1764.



ENGLISH COLLEGE AT LIÈGE, WHERE CARROLL STUDIED AND TAUGHT.

question. He took the four solemn vows and became a Professed Father on the 2d of February, 1771.

The order, which had from its foundation expected and encountered the buffetings of adverse fortune, was now breasting the most fearful storm that had ever arisen against it. A vast conspiracy against revealed truth and civil order had been growing like a canker in the vitals of Europe. Blinded rulers encouraged it, the nobility widely favored it, and the discontented masses of the populace were ready for the wildest excesses. Governments seemed struck with blindness, unable to see the results to which the revolution must lead, the overthrow of the altar and the throne.

The Society of Jesus was regarded by the anti-Christian leaders as an able and energetic corps, of which it was necessary to deprive the Church before the grand attack was made. The House of Bourbon, holding the thrones of France, Spain, and Naples, became the tool of the conspirators. France struck the first blow. In 1762 the Parliament of Paris ordered all the Jesuit colleges to be closed, and soon after issued a decree depriving the members of the Society of all property corporate or personal. This was followed by edicts of banishment unless they renounced their order and took an oath prescribed by these tribunals which assumed higher authority in ecclesiastical matters than the Pope.

The English Jesuits, driven for the faith from England, had sought hospitality in France. They had committed no offence against the laws of the kingdom and were not subjects. But without a shadow of law or regard for judicial forms the Court decreed the seizure of the College of St. Omer and the expulsion of the members of the Society of Jesus attached to it.

One aged Jesuit alone seemed to rouse any sense of humanity in the hearts of the stolid executioners of the edict of

the Jansenistic and infidel parliament. The aged Father Levinus Brown, the friend of the poet Pope, was left in the college to breathe his last at the age of ninety-four.

The persecuted English Jesuits looked around for a place where they could continue the work of educating their young countrymen. The ancient city of Bruges in Austrian Flanders, appreciating the benefit of such an institution, invited the Fathers to establish their college within its walls, and the government officially sanctioned it by Letters Patent. The Jesuit Fathers trusting to the good faith of the Austrian government, accepted the invitation, and agreed to erect a college in that city. The scholars from St. Omer, led by Father Joseph Reeve, made their way across the frontier and through the woods to Bruges, where the community took up their residence in an old Spanish dwelling-house. The establishment at St. Omer comprised the Great College, and a preparatory institution for younger boys, known as the Less College. Both these resumed their courses at Bruges, and there Father Carroll continued his functions as professor.[1]

The government, as if anxious to secure the Jesuits permanently, and prevent their regarding Bruges as a mere temporary home, constantly urged the Fathers to proceed to the erection of suitable buildings. They accordingly expended £7,500 in the purchase of ground for the two colleges, and began the erection of a fine building for the Less College, at a very great outlay. This taxed their resources so completely that they were compelled to defer for a time the plan of erecting their main institution.[2]

[1] Foley, "Records of the Society of Jesus," v., p. 168.

[2] Archbishop Carroll, "A Narrative of the proceedings in the suppression of the two English Colleges at Bruges in Flanders, lately under the government of the English Jesuits."

While Father Carroll was co-operating in the attempt to build up this new college and maintain its efficiency, he was selected by his Superiors to make a tour through Europe with the young son of a Catholic nobleman, Lord Stourton, who had requested that the American priest should undertake the duty.

Setting out with his young charge in 1771, he visited the romantic country of the Vosges, traversing the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, where the memory of good King Stanislaus was still revered by all. They then crossed the Rhine, and entered the territory of the German Empire and journeyed to Carlsruhe, suffering on the way from fever and ague. Heidelberg with its University and learned professors welcomed the Jesuit and his distinguished pupil; then following the Rhine through lands teeming with grain and wine, the tourists reached Cologne, where they admired the still unfinished Cathedral. The Reverend Mr. Carroll's journals of part of the tour have been preserved, and show that he was an observant and thoughtful traveller.

After visiting Augsburg and Munich the tourists struck into the Tyrol, and journeying in the slow and deliberate fashion of the last century, crossed the mountains by way of Trent, till the soft vowel sounds of Italy replaced the harsher German tones. At Verona Father Carroll's Italian was required, and he found that he lacked readiness in the language; but this was soon acquired, as they made their way to Bologna and finally to Rome.

How under more favorable circumstances the Eternal City would have impressed the American priest cannot be known; but it chilled rather than inflamed his devotion. Rome, which had treasured the remains of the founder of the Society, Saint Ignatius, of Saint Francis Borgia, Saint Aloysius, Saint Stanislaus, now looked with such disfavor on the order

to which he belonged that the American Jesuit was compelled to conceal his character; he endeavored to see two Fathers of his province who were personal friends; but as they were out of Rome, he could hold no intercourse with the members of the Society. He saw sold in the streets without restraint libels on the Jesuits in which the prayers of Mass were burlesqued, and treatises assailing the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The overthrow of the Society of Jesus was the common topic, and was expected when Spain declared her will.

Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, the last descendant of James II., who exercised a controlling influence over the Church appointments in the British Isles, was an open adversary of the Society of Jesus, so that even from the Catholic bishops in England little sympathy could be expected, if the worst came.[1]

After spending some time in Rome admiring the many scenes and objects that inspire ennobling thoughts in the scholar and the Christian, Father Carroll and young Stourton continued their way to Naples, where they passed part of the autumn, returning, however, to Rome by October 22d, in order to pass the winter in the Eternal City. On the way they visited Loretto, which awakened earnest devotion in the heart of the priest.[2]

Leaving Rome with gloomy forebodings for the future of the Society in which he had enrolled himself for life, Father Carroll and his pupil, as summer approached, proceeded to Florence, then to Genoa—cities that reminded the American priest of Columbus and Verazzano. Then entering France

[1] Letter of Rev. John Carroll, Rome, Jan. 23, 1772.

[2] Letters of Feb. 8 and June 23, 1773.

he visited Lyons, and travelling on by diligence to Paris, returned to Bruges by way of Liège.

Father Carroll restored his young charge to the hands of Lord Stourton and prepared to resume his duties in the college. Notwithstanding the constant reports of an intended suppression or modification of the order, which all the recent observations of Father Carroll confirmed, the English Jesuits at Bruges made no attempt to remove to a place of safety, if any could be found. They trusted implicitly in the good faith of the Austro-Belgic government, which had invited them into Bruges, and given Letters Patent, although fully aware of the machinations against them.

The direction of the Sodality at Bruges was offered to Father Carroll, but his recent tour had enabled the American priest to meet many experienced men and study the signs of the times. Convinced that the Society of Jesus would be either annihilated or so restricted as to be unable to continue its work, he saw no avenue open in Europe where all seemed seething with destructive fires. All convinced him that the wisest course was to return to his native land. He withdrew into retirement, to weigh well in prayer the disposition he felt to join his relatives in Maryland. His religious brethren were loth to part with one whose sterling qualities all appreciated, but the question was decided by a higher hand.

On the 21st of July, 1773, the Sovereign Pontiff Clement XIV. signed the Brief "Dominus ac Redemptor noster," which, without condemning the members of the order for their doctrine, their life, or their discipline, suppressed the Society of Jesus throughout the Christian world. Withheld for nearly a month, this remarkable paper was issued on the 16th of August, and a commission of Cardinals named to execute it.

The bishops throughout the world were required to obtain

from each member of the Society under their jurisdiction an acknowledgment in writing of his submission to the brief suppressing his order. Such a paper was doubtless signed by Father Carroll and his fellow-religious at the English College at Bruges. They regarded the suppression as only temporary and trusted that the Austro-Belgian government which had invited them, exiles for the faith from a Protestant realm, to take up their abode at Bruges, would permit them to continue their good work till better days. They were soon cruelly undeceived. The government resolved to enforce the brief by seizing all the property of the Society, and to do so without making the provision required by its terms.

Amid these uncertainties, Father Carroll wrote to his brother Daniel on the 11th of September, 1773:

"I was willing to accept the vacant post of prefect of the Scdality here that I might enjoy some retirement, and consider well in the presence of God the disposition I found myself in of going to join my relatives in Maryland, and in case that disposition continued, to go out next spring. But now all room for deliberation seems to be over. The enemies of the Society, and, above all, the unrelenting perseverance of the Spanish and Portuguese ministries, with the passiveness of the Court of Vienna, has at last obtained their ends; and our so long persecuted, and, I must add, holy Society, is no more. God's holy will be done, and may His name be blessed forever and ever! This fatal stroke was struck on the 21st of July, but was kept secret at Rome till the 16th of August, and was only made known to me on the 5th of September. I am not, and perhaps never shall be, recovered from the shock of this dreadful intelligence. The greatest blessing which in my estimation I could receive from God would be immediate death; but if He deny me this, may His holy and adorable designs on me be wholly fulfilled. Is

it possible that Divine Providence should permit to such an end a body wholly devoted, and I will still aver, with the most disinterested charity, in procuring every comfort and advantage to their neighbors, whether by preaching, teaching, catechizing, missions, visiting hospitals, prisons, and every other function of spiritual and corporal mercy? Such I have beheld it in every part of my travels, the first of all ecclesiastical bodies in the esteem and confidence of the faithful, and certainly the most laborious. What will become of our flourishing congregations with you, and those cultivated by the German Fathers? These reflections crowd so fast upon me that I almost lose my senses. But I will endeavor to suppress them for a few moments. You see that I am now my own master, and left to my own direction. In returning to Maryland, I shall have the comfort of not only being with you, but of being farther out of the reach of scandal and defamation, and removed from the scenes of distress of many of my dearest friends, whom, God knows, I shall not be able to relieve. I shall, therefore, most certainly sail for Maryland early next spring, if I possibly can." [1]

In an account written at the time by Father Carroll we see the feelings of these English Jesuits and the people among whom they had resided for the last ten years:

"The news of the dissolution of the order was received with the greatest anxiety. The magistracy and citizens persuaded themselves that the government would not destroy two settlements so lately authorized by themselves; and that the bull would have no farther operation respecting the English Jesuits than to reduce them to the condition of secular priests; but that they would be allowed, if they themselves

[1] Brent, "Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, first Archbishop of Baltimore," Baltimore, 1843, pp. 25–7.

were willing, to continue the same functions they had hitherto discharged. Encouraged by these general expectations of the town, the superiors of the two colleges wrote a letter to Monsieur Neny, President of the Privy Council at Brussels, who had often declared himself the protector of the colleges, and was thought to hold the first share in the government. In the letter they expressed their alarm on account of the situation of the Society; but withal desired to continue to render the same service to religion and the instruction of youth, now they became secular clergymen, as heretofore whilst they were Jesuits; and if the government should not judge proper to allow any longer of the colleges under their care, they prayed at least to have time to give warning to parents to remove their children; and especially reminded the minister of the necessity of such a delay arising from the situation of several American youths, who had no other friends in Europe besides the persons under whose care they actually were."

The minister invited the two rectors to Brussels, where every assurance was given that their institution would be maintained; and that at all events they should be treated with respect, allowed to retain private property, and assured of a competent maintenance.

Even when the Bishop of Bruges received orders to execute the brief, he told the Fathers "that he was persuaded that whatever change might happen in the two colleges would last for only two or three days, after which everything would be allowed to go on as usual." Lay commissioners were appointed by the ministry at Brussels to carry into effect the edict issued by the Empress Maria Teresa; but so distasteful was the task that those appointed left the work to be done by Marouex, a coarse young upstart.

On the 20th of September this commissioner entered the

college and caused the brief and edict to be read. The Jesuit Fathers were then forbidden to go out or hold any intercourse with persons outside, or to write any letters, or to continue the management of the colleges or the instruction of the pupils. Then a deputy of the bishop revoked the faculties of the priests for administering the sacraments, preaching or catechizing, permitting them only to say mass in the private chapel.

The account-books of the college were seized and an inventory made of all the property, ridiculous search being made for hidden treasures.

For more than two weeks a constant system of harassing was kept up. Each of these worthy priests was taken singly to his room, where he was put under oath and compelled to produce his private property in money, effects, or credits. Even private papers were taken. All Father Carroll's letters from his mother and kindred in America were doubtless then seized.

On the evening of the 14th of October, 1773, Marouex, one of the commissaries appointed by the Austrian government to rob and harass these exiles for the faith, burst into the community room attended by officers and guards. The young upstart assumed airs of great authority and ordered Fathers Angier, Plowden, and Carroll to follow him. In vain they begged the favor of being allowed each to go to his room for a few moments. This was not permitted, and the Fathers were conducted at once by guards to coaches in waiting. They were then taken to the College of the Flemish Fathers, which had been thoroughly plundered. There they were confined and left to pass the night on the bare floor as best they might. Mother Mary More, Superior of the English Augustinian nuns, as soon as she knew of their position, sent her chaplain, Rev. Thomas Ber-

ington, who made every exertion to lessen their undeserved sufferings.

All but three Fathers, who were detained as hostages, were in a short time released and ordered to leave the country.

At the first intelligence of this unexpected violence toward the English houses, Henry, Lord Arundell of Wardour, who was a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, appealed to Prince Staremberg, the Austrian prime minister, in their behalf.[1]

The Jesuits of the English province lost no time in leaving the ungrateful empire.

Though he had resolved to return to Maryland, the Rev. John Carroll accompanied his religious brethren to England, and acted as their secretary in the remonstrance which they addressed to the French government against the seizure of their property.

As he had renounced his paternal estate in favor of his brother and sisters, he was utterly without means. But he was known and appreciated among the highest circles of English Catholics, and was at once invited by Lord Arundell to make Wardour Castle his home. Here he enjoyed the society of the cultivated friends of that nobleman, and while acting as chaplain labored zealously among the neighboring Catholics. Wardour Castle had a deep interest to a native of Maryland, as Anne Arundell, wife of Lord Baltimore, whose name has been perpetuated in one of the counties of the State, was born within its walls.

This elegant leisure was not able to detain the good priest. He felt that his real mission was in his own land; though how Providence was to employ him there he could not fore-

[1] Carroll, "A Narrative of the Proceedings on the Suppression of the Two English Colleges"; Foley, "Records," v., pp. 173–184.

see. His affectionate heart prompted him to return to his aged mother, and he felt that he must act at once. Removed as he had been from America ever since the days of his boyhood, he had never forgotten his native land or its interests. The growing aversion to English rule had not escaped his notice, and he beheld with regret that the home government instead of a course of conciliation that would have bound the colonists to the mother country, seemed wantonly, year by year, to adopt measures that alienated the hearts of the American people more and more from the sovereign and the parliament of Great Britain. That the moment would soon arrive when an appeal would be made to arms, the Rev. Mr. Carroll was too sagacious not to see. Whatever might come, the patriotic priest resolved to cast his lot with his country. Bidding adieu to the members of the order, with whom he had spent so many happy years in the religious state, and to the kind friend who had given him so delightful a home, he sailed from England in 1774, bearing faculties as a secular priest granted by the Vicar-Apostolic of London.

The vessel was one of the last that cleared from England for the Chesapeake before the Revolution. Rev. Mr. Carroll arrived in America June 26, 1774, and landed at Richland, Virginia, the seat of William Brent, who had married his second sister, Ellen. His old classmate at Bohemia and St. Omer, Robert Brent, now the husband of Carroll's elder sister, Anne, lived in the same neighborhood. After enjoying the affectionate welcome of his sisters and their families, the priest thus restored to his country proceeded after a delay of only two days to the home which his mother had made for herself and her younger daughters, Mary and Betsy, on Rock Creek, in Frederick, now Montgomery County, Maryland. Her joy at the return of her loving son may well be imagined, "though the change that time had wrought in him



ELEANOR DARNALL CARROLL, MOTHER OF ARCHBISHOP CARROLL.

from a lad of twelve to a man of forty, made her fail to recognize him at first, so it is said." [1] His affection attested in his letters had cheered her widowhood, but she had scarcely dared to hope for the happiness of ever having him again beneath her roof.[2]

[1] Woodstock Letters, vii., p. 9.

[2] We are indebted for the portrait of Archbishop Carroll's mother to the courtesy and interest of Miss E. C. Brent, who allowed a copy to be made of the oil painting in her possession.



SEMINARY, MARKING SITE OF OLD ST. MARY'S, MD.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES, 1763–1774.

THE position of Catholics when the Rev. John Carroll returned to the English colonies in America was a peculiar one. More than a decade of years had elapsed since England by the aid of those colonies had crushed the power of France on the northern continent, and extorted a cession of Florida from Spain. War stimulated by fanning anti-Catholic fanaticism had triumphed, and England had a vast transatlantic realm to govern, whose direction required the utmost resources of statesmanship. But it is easier to create prejudice than to dispel it. The British government was learning the lesson. Had England's conduct in colonial affairs been based on the great and eternal principles of truth and honesty, her course would have been simple. But she could not be just to her new Catholic acquisitions without arousing elsewhere the feelings of religious hate which she had implanted and nurtured by every device and keenly-devised misrepresentation.

The course of Catholics had been consistent and Christian. Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, an earnest friend of equal rights in civil and religious matters, took out to his Newfoundland colony of Avalon a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister, and chapels gave the settlers of both faiths the opportunity to worship God according to their own wish and choice. The Protestant minister returned to England to denounce this liberality and make charges against Calvert, which still stand on the records. In founding the

colony of Maryland his son and successor, equally desirous of encouraging the settlers to maintain the form of worship they desired, took no clergymen officially, but erected chapels for each creed, leaving the people to arrange for a ministry as they chose. Father Andrew White and another Jesuit Father came out with the first settlers as gentlemen adventurers, under the proposals issued by Lord Baltimore, bringing out mechanics, laborers, and farmers. As proprietors they took up lands, and those who followed them did the same. These plantations afforded a support to the Catholic clergy in Maryland, down to the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the chapel being attached to the residence of the priest, for the laws of the colony forbade any separate structure for Catholic worship, and when Rev. Mr. Carroll landed in 1774 there was not, so far as we know, a public Catholic church in the province of Maryland.

The Rev. Mr. Carroll, some years later, thus described the condition of Catholics in Maryland during the three quarters of the century: "Attempts were frequently made to introduce the whole code of penal English laws, and it seemed to depend more on the temper of the courts of justice than on avowed and acknowledged principles that these laws were not generally executed as they were sometimes partially. Under these discouraging circumstances Catholic families of note left their church and carried an accession of weight and influence into the Protestant cause. The seat of government was removed from St. Mary's, where the Catholics were powerful, to Annapolis, where lay the strength of the opposite party. The Catholics, excluded from all lucrative employments, harassed and discouraged, became, in general, poor and dejected.

"But in spite of their discouragements their numbers increased with the increase of population. They either had

clergymen residing in their neighborhoods or were occasionally visited by them; but these congregations were dispersed at such distances, and the clergymen were so few that many Catholic families could not always hear Mass, or receive any instruction so often as once in a month. Domestic instructions supplied, in some degree, this defect; but yet very imperfectly. Amongst the poorer sort, many could not read, or if they could, were destitute of books, which, if to be had at all, must come from England; and in England the laws were excessively rigid against printing or vending Catholic books. Under all these difficulties, it is surprising that there remained in Maryland, even so much as there was, of true religion. In general Catholics were regular and inoffensive in their conduct; such, I mean, as were natives of the country; but when many began to be imported, as servants, from Ireland, great licentiousness prevailed amongst them in the towns and neighborhoods where they were stationed, and spread a scandal injurious to true faith. Contiguous to the houses where the priests resided on the lands, which had been secured for the clergy, small chapels were built; but scarcely anywhere else; when divine service was performed at a distance from their residence, private and inconvenient houses were used for churches. Catholics contributed nothing to the support of religion or its ministers; the whole charge of their maintenance, of furnishing the altars, of all travelling expenses, fell on the priests themselves, and no compensation was ever offered for any service performed by them, nor did they require any, so long as the produce of their lands was sufficient to answer their demands. But it must have been foreseen that if religion should make considerable progress, this could not always be the case." [1]

[1] Account of condition of religion prepared by Bishop Carroll about 1790. It was first published in the "Metropolitan" for 1831 by Rev. C.

The Catholics in Maryland from the time of the settlement of that province had been subject to the Vicar-Apostolic of England, and when the Vicariate-Apostolic of the London District was established to the bishops to whom successively the management of that part of England was confided by the Holy See. The missionaries extending their labors to New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, carried the same jurisdiction to those colonies. This jurisdiction was not derived from any express act of the Holy See, but arose like that of the Archbishop of Rouen in Canada, from the fact of vessels sailing from ports in the jurisdiction of European bishops who gave faculties, under a settled law of the Church. Bishop Challoner tells us that the Jesuit missionaries in Maryland used at first to ask rather for approbation than for faculties. But after Pope Innocent XII., by his Brief issued February 14, 1702, ordained that all missionaries in Vicariates-Apostolic should obtain faculties from the bishops in charge, and not exercise any functions without them, the Maryland missionaries applied regularly for faculties.[1]

"All our settlements in America have been deemed subject in spirituals to the ecclesiastical superiors here, and this has been time out of mind; even, I believe, from the time of the archpriests. I know not the origin of this, nor have ever met with the original grant," wrote Bishop Challoner in 1756. "I suppose they were looked upon as appurtenances or appendixes of the English mission. And after the division of this kingdom into four districts, the jurisdiction over

C. Pise, who translated it from a French version. The citation here is from Bishop Carroll's manuscript.

[1] The Congregation de Propaganda Fide required all regulars to obtain faculties from the Vicars Apostolic. Benedict XIV. confirmed the decree Sept. 2, 1745. Bullarium de Propaganda Fide, Appendix ii., pp. 111-118.

the Catholicks in those settlements has followed the London district [1] (as they are all reputed by the English as part of the London diocese), I suppose because London is the capital of the British Empire, and from hence are the most frequent opportunities of a proper correspondence with all those settlements. Whether the Holy See has ordered anything in this regard I cannot learn." [2]

A document in the archives of the Propaganda shows that action was soon after taken.

"The Vicars-Apostolic of London since the time of James II. have always had authority over the English colonies and islands in America; but as it did not appear on what basis this custom was founded, a decree was obtained in the month of January, 1757, from Benedict XIV. of happy memory, in favor of Mgr. Benjamin Petre, Bishop of Prusa, then Vicar-Apostolic of London, giving him *ad sexennium* jurisdiction over all the colonies and islands in America subject to the British Empire, and after the death of that prelate it was confirmed March 31, 1759, for six years more to Mgr. Richard Challoner, Bishop of Debra, now Vicar-Apostolic of London." [3]

"The said Vicar-Apostolic is so far from any ambition or desire of increasing his jurisdiction in those parts that it would afford him great pleasure to be relieved of a burthen which exceeds his strength and to which he cannot devote due attention. The great distance does not permit him to visit them in person. He accordingly cannot have the nec-

[1] A document showing Bishop Giffard's exercise of jurisdiction in this country will be found in "Catholic Church in Colonial Days," p. 374.

[2] J. Fisher (*i. e.*, Richard Challoner) to Rev. Dr. Stonor, Clergy Agent, September 14, 1756. Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster.

[3] Letter of the Cardinal Prefect to Bishop Challoner, March 31, 1759. Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster.

essary information to know and correct abuses: he cannot administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to the faithful there, who remain totally deprived of that spiritual aid: he cannot provide ecclesiastical ministers, partly for the same reason of distance, and partly from want of money to meet the expense.

"If the Sacred Congregation, moved by these reasons and by others which may easily occur to the mind, should deem it more suitable to establish a Vicar-Apostolic over the other English colonies and islands, it seems that the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, is the most suitable place for his residence, as being a city of large population, and, what is more, a seaport, and consequently convenient for keeping up free correspondence with the other provinces on the mainland, as well as with the islands. This additional reason may be given, that there is no place in all the English dominions where the Catholic religion is exercised in greater liberty."[1]

Bishop Challoner himself thus described the condition of his transatlantic flock in 1756: "As to the state of religion in our American settlements, the best account I can give is, there are no missions in any of our colonies upon the Continent, excepting Mariland and Pensilvania; in which the exercise of the Catholick religion is in some measure tolerated. I have had different accounts as to their numbers in Mariland, where they are the most numerous. By one account they were about 4,000 communicants; another makes them to amount to about 7,000; but perhaps the latter might design to include those in Pensilvania, where I believe there may be about 2,000. There are about twelve missioners in Mariland and four in Pensilvania, all of them of the Society.

[1] "Ragguaglio della Religione Cattolica nelle Colonie Inglesi d'America." Manuscript in the Archives of the Propaganda, written after 1763.



RT. REV. RICHARD CHALLONER, BISHOP OF DEBRA, V.A. OF THE LONDON DISTRICT.

These also assist some few Catholicks in Virginia, upon the borders of Mariland, and in N. Jersey, bordering upon Pensilvania. As to the rest of the provinces upon the Continent, N. England, N. York, etc., if there be any straggling Catholicks, they can have no exercise of their religion, as no priests ever come near them: nor to judge by what appears to be the present disposition of the inhabitants, are ever like to be admitted amongst them." [1]

The question of providing these Catholics with a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic had already been discussed at this early day. "Some have wished," wrote Bishop Challoner in 1756, "considering the number of the faithful, especially in those two provinces, destitute of the Sacrament of Confirmation and lying at so great a distance from us, that a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic should be appointed for them. But how far this may be judged practicable by our Superiors, I know not; especially as it may not be relished by those who have engrossed that best part of the mission to themselves, and who may, not without show of probability, object that a novelty of this kind might give offence to the governing part there, who have been a little hard upon them of late years." [2]

In a report to the Propaganda the same year Bishop Challoner said of the British Colonies in America: "In these very flourishing colonies, if you except Pennsylvania and Maryland, there is no exercise of the Catholic religion, and therefore no missionaries, the laws and civil authorities pro-

[1] J. Fisher (*i. e.*, Richard Challoner) to Rev. Dr. Stonor, Clergy Agent at Rome, September 14, 1756. Archives of the See of Westminster.

[2] Ib. Bishop Challoner, writing to his agent in Rome, September 6, 1763, again speaks of the impossibility of his taking due care of Catholics at so great a distance as those in America, and mentions his belief that for the American Continent a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic in Canada or Florida would be the most proper. Archives of Archbishopric of Westminster.

hibiting it. In Pennsylvania and Maryland the exercise of religion is free, and Jesuits holding faculties from us very laudably conduct the missions there. There are about twelve missionaries in Maryland, and, as they say, about sixteen thousand Catholics, including children; and in Pennsylvania about six or seven thousand under five missionaries. Some of these also make excursions in one direction into the neighboring province of Jersey, and on the other into that of Virginia, and secretly administer the sacraments to the Catholics residing there. It is to be desired that provision should be made for the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation to so many Catholics as are found in Maryland and Pennsylvania, of the benefit of which they are totally deprived. Now that Canada and Florida are reduced to the British sway, the Holy Apostolic See may more easily effect this, namely, by establishing with the consent of our court a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic at Quebec or elsewhere and investing him with jurisdiction over all the other English colonies and islands in America. This would be far from displeasing to us, and would redound greatly to the advantage of said colonies." [1]

There was a source of danger to the Catholics in this country in the appointment of a Bishop which Doctor Challoner does not openly allude to, and this was the influence of the Stuarts at Rome. The Holy See recognized Charles Edward as King of England, and the nomination of Catholic bishops in the British dominions was virtually in the hands of his brother Henry, who was a member of the Sacred College and generally known as the Cardinal of York. The Catholics in Maryland from the beginning had never been

[1] Bishop Challoner to the Prefect of the Propaganda, London, August 2, 1763. He again urged the extension of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec in a letter March 15, 1764.

strong partisans of the house of Stuart. In the proceedings against the Society of Jesus, the Cardinal of York had arrayed himself with the enemies of the order, and the Jesuit missionaries in Maryland and Pennsylvania naturally feared that any Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic sent over at his nomination would be hostile to the clergy here, and as an avowed Jacobite might involve all the Catholic body in the colonies in the charge of disaffection to the government, as adherents of a claimant for whom they really cared nothing.

But Bishop Challoner evidently favored the creation of separate Vicariates for America. In 1765 he wrote to his agent at Rome:

"What you add of settling two or three Vicars-Apostolic in that part of the world, is an object that certainly deserves the attention of our friends. But I foresee the execution of it will meet with very great difficulties, especially in Mariland and Pennsylvania, where the Padri have had so long possession, and will hardly endure a Prefect, much less a Bishop of any other institute: nor indeed do I know of any one of ours that would be fond of going amongst them, nor of any that would be proper for that station, who could be spared by us in our present circumstances."[1]

And at a later period in the same year he recurred again to the subject, showing that it was still under discussion. "I hope our friends there will not drop the project of settling some Vicar-Apostolic in those parts you speak of. 'Tis morally impossible for us to have a proper superintendency over places so remote. And to let so many thousand Catholics as there are in some of our northern Colonies to remain entirely destitute of the Sacrament of Confirmation is what, I am sure, our friends will never suffer."[2]

[1] Bp. Challoner to Rev. Dr. Stonor, Feb. 15, 1765. [2] Ib., May 31, 1765.

The Maryland missionaries actually transmitted to Bishop Challoner a remonstrance against the appointment of a Bishop for the colonies, which was signed by the leading men among the laity. Bishop Challoner, however, did not forward the document to Rome, and communicated his reasons to the missioners here. The Vicar-Apostolic of London evidently favored the appointment of a Bishop in this country, or some means of placing the colonies under a Bishop here, because, as he wrote, "There be so many thousands there that live and die without confirmation."[1] The matter seems to have weighed greatly on his mind. He applied to Rome to be relieved of the care of the Catholics in the American colonies, and expressed his regret when the Sacred Congregation declined to act on his petition. In reply he wrote: "It is a lamentable thing that such a multitude have to live and die, always deprived of the Sacrament of Confirmation. The Fathers evince an unspeakable repugnance to the establishment of a Bishop among them, under the pretext that it might excite a violent persecution on the part of the civil authorities. But it does not seem to me that this consequence can be feared, if the Bishop of Quebec, who is not at so very great a distance from those parts, were invited and had the necessary faculties to administer Confirmation at least once to these Catholics."[2]

Canada after the conquest was long without a bishop, the English government rejecting the priest first selected by the clergy of that province, but Bishop Challoner and others had looked to the See of Quebec as a means of relieving Catholics in the former British colonies.

[1] Bishop Challoner to Rev. Dr. Stonor, Sept. 12, 1766.

[2] Bishop Challoner to his agent in Rome, June 4, 1771. Archives of the Propaganda.

"If matters were there once properly settled," he wrote, "I wish our friends would think of charging the person to be chosen, or some other with the title of Vicar-Apostolic, with the care of those other colonies, which we at this distance cannot properly assist, and which are now quite deprived of the sacrament of Confirmation."[1]

It seemed a very feasible plan that the Bishop of Quebec should from time to time visit Pennsylvania and Maryland in order to confer confirmation and perform other episcopal acts. In this plan the Maryland missionaries seemed to have concurred heartily. We know that the venerable and devoted Superior of the Jesuits in Maryland, Father George Hunter, set out from that province for Canada, May 24, 1769, but his arrival in that province in July, excited the alarm of the English authorities. The favor shown the Catholics in the conquered province had already drawn the wrath of the old colonies upon the British government, and it was averse to giving any fresh cause of complaint.

Guy Carleton told Father Hunter that he neither could nor would permit him to remain, and that he must without delay depart from thence, which he prepared to do forthwith on a vessel ready to sail to England.

That Father Hunter saw the Bishop of Quebec at this time and conferred with him is probable from several circumstances. The letter of Guy Carleton stating that Father Hunter called at once upon him, proceeds immediately to discuss the position of the Bishop. "I represented to him that a Bishop was allowed the Canadians that they might have the advantage of a Provincial Clergy, and that any accession thereto from abroad, even from the king's other

[1] Bishop Challoner to Rev. Dr. Stonor, March 15, 1764.

dominions, was altogether unnecessary, and never would be allowed." [1]

The English government had never dared to establish Bishops of the State Church in the colonies, every proposal to do so having excited an agitation among the Puritan element, in which many even of the adherents of the Established Church joined. In 1702 Rev. Mr. Talbot, a missionary of "The Society for Propagating the Gospel," wrote: "We have great need of a Bishop here to visit all the churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all." [2] Three years after the Episcopal Clergy signed a petition to Queen Anne for a suffragan Bishop.[3] The matter was pursued for some years ineffectually, and at last in 1722 the Rev. John Talbot, who had been active in the matter from the first, went to England, and was consecrated by a nonjuring Bishop, and some years after the Rev. Mr. Welton did the same. These bishops dared not exercise their functions openly, but some inkling of what had been done reached England, and Rev. Mr. Talbot was discharged by the Society, and Welton ordered on his allegiance to return to England.[4]

If the English government so timidly shrank from allowing a Bishop of the Established Church to be sent to America, it could not venture to incur a storm of opposition by authorizing a Roman Catholic Bishop to visit Pennsylvania and Maryland.

But the subject was not dropped by Father Hunter, and he apparently received some encouragement from the Bishop

[1] Carleton to Hillsborough, July 17, 1769. Abbé Verreau's Report, 1874, p. 168. Foley, "Records of the English Province," i., p. 384.

[2] Talbot to Gillingham, New York, November 24, 1702.

[3] Hills, "History of the Church in Burlington, N. J.," Trenton, 1876, p. 68.

[4] Ib., pp. 179–204.

of Quebec. The Superior of the Jesuit mission sailed to England, and was engaged in adjusting various matters connected with the Church in America, which detained him in Europe till 1770. During this period the project of visits to the colonies by the Bishop of Quebec was taken up at Rome, as though the objections were regarded as merely temporary. The Bishop of Quebec, when visiting Nova Scotia, could easily run down to Philadelphia in one of the vessels commanded by Catholics, as Rev. Mr. Bailly seems to have done, simply to go to confession.[1]

On the 7th of September, 1771, Cardinal Castelli addressed Bishop Briand of Quebec on the subject. The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, learning that there were many Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania who, though otherwise provided with spiritual aid, had been unable for want of a bishop to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation, was anxious to relieve them, and saw no way unless the Bishop of Quebec, as the nearest Catholic Bishop, "would assume that duty and discharge so conspicuous an act of charity." "In their name, therefore, I earnestly beseech you not to decline to undertake a work of this kind, acceptable to God and most useful to our faith, for which you have on the annexed sheet, faculties granted by our Most Holy Lord. But if you are so hindered by difficulties that you cannot in person discharge this ministry, I beg, at least, that you will write back as early as possible whether there is any more feasible way in which the relief can be given to that orthodox flock."[2]

That the English government refused the Bishop permis-

[1] Casgrain, "Un Pèlerinage au Pays d'Evangéline," Quebec, 1887, p. 278.

[2] Letter of Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Briand. Archives of Archbishopric of Quebec.

sion is most probable, as the subject was not again raised, and no evidence or tradition exists of a visit to the old Catholic colony by the successor of Laval.

The conferring of Confirmation, the establishment of a Bishop, were to follow one of the great wars of history, a war which broke the shackles of the Catholic colonist in America.

The triumph of 1763 by which the French and Spanish settlements east of the Mississippi passed under British sway apparently appeased for a time the animosity of the people of the old colonies against the Catholics residing among them. As no Catholic power any longer menaced the frontiers, the professors of the true faith of Christ were not regarded as in themselves a source of danger. The existence of the Catholic Church in Canada was, however, extremely distasteful, but friendly intercourse with that province began to exercise a beneficial influence.

The Catholics in Maryland seemed to feel that a new and better era had begun. Father George Hunter was Superior of the Missions of Maryland and Pennsylvania, having under his charge Fathers James Ashbey, Arnold Livers, Matthew Manners, Augustine Frambach, John Williams, James Pellentz, John Lewis, Frederick Leonard, Lewis Roels, Joseph Mosley, James Walton, Peter Morris, James Beadnall, and Robert Molyneux in Maryland, with Fathers Theodore Schneider, Robert Harding, Joseph Hathersty, and Ferdinand Farmer in Pennsylvania.

There were signs of activity in many parts. At Frederick Father John Williams put up a residence and a chapel, soon to fall a prey to the flames—a loss not soon repaired, as that was a frontier town often filled with alarm by fugitives from Indian foes.[1] Father Hunter rebuilt the manor house at

[1] Letter of J. W., June 20, 1772. "I find one monument of my folly

Port Tobacco in a style that drew most exaggerated accounts from unfriendly sources.[1] Father Ashbey rebuilt the church at Newtown, under the invocation of St. Francis Xavier, which, frequently repaired and restored, still remains an humble frame edifice, with its sacristy and modest priest's room above, its square bell tower, and cross. "Certainly few Catholic churches in this country can boast of such an age as that claimed by the Newtown chapel," writes a local antiquarian. Its old bell has a time-worn inscription on which the date 1691 is still visible, and which hung in olden days in the crotch of a tree. Annapolis even had its chapel regularly attended.

Father Joseph Mosley, who began his labors in St. Joseph's Forest in 1759, labored at Newtown, St. Thomas' Manor, Sakia, and Newport before proceeding to the Eastern Shore, where his long mission ended only with his life.[2] In that part of Maryland the chapel at Bohemia was in a ruinous house, and a mission was projected at Tuckahoe, and the missionaries were already looking to the purchase of ground at Mill Creek Hundred, in the present State of Delaware.[3]

"You must not imagine," wrote Father Mosley to his brother, a priest in England, "that our chapels lie as yours do; they are in great forests, some miles from any House of

destroyed in Fredericktown; had the house been built of wood, 'twould probably have shared the same fate."

[1] Smyth, "Tour in the United States of America," London, 1784, ii., p. 179. The tax on Bachelors imposed by the Vestry of Port Tobacco parish about this time and confirmed by the Assembly, may have been prompted by a wish to punish Father Hunter and his associates. The priests and lay brothers were certainly all mulcted.

[2] "Woodstock Letters," xiv., p. 61; xiii., pp. 73, 284.

[3] Very Rev. Dr. Carroll's Reply to Rev. P. Smyth. Bishop Becker in "Catholic Standard," July 30, 1879.

Hospitality. Swamps, runs, miry holes, lost in the Night, as yet and ever will in this country attend us. Thank God, we are all safe as yet. Between three and four hundred miles was my last Christmas fare on one horse." [1]

The churches which the Catholics were thus rearing on American soil, betokened a greater confidence than they had shown, and the evident hope of more kindly consideration at the hands of their fellow-citizens. The buildings were nearly all solid and substantial.

That in Lancaster, begun on the site of the old church, stood till far in the present century, being used as a school-house after the dedication of the present St. Mary's Church in 1854. It was of stone, and really the work of the congregation, if, as tradition tells, the men gathered the stones from the farmers in the country roundabout and brought them to the spot, while the women mixed the mortar for those who laid the stone. So well was the work done that the church withstood the elements till 1881, when this relic of colonial days was torn down.[2]

Ground had been secured in Philadelphia by the congregation of St. Joseph, which was feasible under a law permitting Christian bodies to hold lands for burial-ground. The Jesuit missionaries who held the titles to churches in their individual names, adhered to the same system when it was decided to erect a second church. A portion of this land secured under Father Harding's influence, and measuring fifty feet in front and running back eighty feet, was conveyed by the trustees on the 23d of May, 1763, to Father

[1] F. Joseph Mosley to Rev. Mr. Mosley, July 30, 1764.

[2] S. M. Sener, in "United States Catholic Historical Magazine," i., pp. 42, 215.

Robert Harding.[1] The erection of the church was apparently begun soon after, and completed in the following year sufficiently to permit of its use.

The erection of this church so near St. Joseph's may have been with a view to a separate place of worship for the Germans, who, though under the direction of another priest, had attended St. Joseph's. As reported in 1757, the German Catholics under Father Schneider, in Philadelphia, outnumbered those of English tongue under Father Harding. An indication of this desire to have a distinct church and organization for themselves, is seen in the fact that the German Catholics of Philadelphia soon acquired part of the ground purchased, as their separate cemetery.

The venerable Father Theodore Schneider, the founder of this German Catholic congregation and of the Goshenhoppen mission, had meanwhile worn himself out in his arduous labors. Father Farmer, to whom the care of the Philadelphia Catholics of German origin had been assigned as resident pastor, hastened to the bedside of his fellow-religious and countryman. Fortified by the sacraments of the Church, Father Schneider "died on the 10th of July, 1764, full of years, and rich in the merits of a zealous missionary life. He was buried in the little church by Father Farmer."[2] Be-

[1] Deed of Daniel Swan and others, individually to Robert Harding, dated May 23, 1763; consideration five shillings. It is absolute though the words "to build and erect a chapel thereon" are interlined. This deed was recorded Jan. 29, 1811, by Bishop Egan, as he states expressly.

[2] "Liber Baptizatorum et Matrimonio Copulatorum, uti et Defunctorum Philadelphiæ, in Cushenhopen," etc.—"Historical Sketch of the Mission of Goshenhoppen" in Woodstock Letters, v., pp. 202–218. "In funere R. P. Theodori Schneider, S.J., 1764." Notes of F. Farmer's funeral discourse. The inscription on Father Schneider's tomb is: "Hic jacet Rev. Theodorus Schneider, S.J., Missionis hujus Fundator. Obiit 10ª Julii, 1764. Aetatis 62. Missionis 24. R. I. P."

sides the Catholics in Philadelphia, of whom the last-named priest took charge, after his transfer from Lancaster, he also took up Father Schneider's laborious excursions through New Jersey.

On his long and exhausting journeys, Father Schneider, we are traditionally informed, more than once was in danger of his life from bigoted enemies of the faith, although he was generally supposed to be a physician.



ST. MARY'S CHURCH AT LANCASTER, PA.

A remarkable monument of his patience and industry exists in two manuscript missals, which in his few and unconnected hours of leisure he copied out, so as to have a missal at different stations, and thus lighten the load he was required to carry. Poverty made it impossible to obtain a supply of missals, but his patience supplied the want.

One of these preserved at the ancient Goshenhoppen mission which he founded was written, as Father Schneider states in a note, to be used in Magunshi, where he said mass every other month. It is in perfect preservation, a volume

six inches wide, seven and a half long, and an inch thick, the handwriting clear and beautiful.

The church and its attendant missions were for a time without a pastor, the schoolmaster, whom the good priest had placed over the little school [1] which he gathered at his church, giving private baptism when necessary. Father Frambach, of the province of Lower Rhine, who had arrived in the country in 1758, extended his visits to this district till Father John Baptist de Ritter, who belonged to the Belgian province, arrived in the country May 31, 1765, and began in the summer his long and toilsome ministration.[2]

Of the condition of the Catholic missions in Maryland and Pennsylvania we have at this time a glimpse in a contemporaneous report. The mission of the Assumption, commonly called St. Inigoes, a plantation of 2,000 acres, was the residence of a single missionary, who was supported by the produce of the place, amounting to £90. At St. Xavier's mission, Newtown, were three Fathers. Fifteen hundred acres here yielded £88 for their support. At St. Ignatius Mission, Portobacco, were three missionaries. The plantations of 4,400 acres produced £188. The mission of St. Francis Borgia at White Marsh, with 3,500 acres, gave £180 for the maintenance of two missionaries, Rev. John Lewis and an assistant.

The mission of St. Joseph at Deer Creek, in the northern part of the colony of Maryland, had 127 acres, producing £24 for the support of the Father stationed there; and that of St. Stanislaus, at Fredericktown, had three lots as yet un-

[1] This school has been maintained, and its long and useful services in the cause of education have been fully recognized by the civil authorities. Woodstock Letters, v.

[2] "Commencement et progrès de la Religion Catholique et Romaine dans le Mariland et les autres provinces de l'Amérique Septentrionale."

Dominica IX et X post Pentecost.

pus visitationis tuæ. et ingressus templum coepit ejicere vendentes in illo clamantes, dicens illis: scriptum est, quia domus mea domus orationis est vos autem fecistis illam speluncam latronum. et erat docens quotidie in templo Credo.

Offert justitia Domini recta, lætificantes corda, objudicia ejus dulciora super mel et favum. nam et servus tuus custodit ea. Secreta.

Concede nobis quæsumus Domine hæc dignè frequentare mysteria, quæ quotiens hujus hostiæ commemoratio celebratur, opus nostræ redemptionis exercetur per D 2 Exaudi f. 15. 3. ad lib.

Commun qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo, dicit Dominus. Postcom.

Tui nobis quæsumus Domine communio sacramenti et munificationem conferat, et tribuat unitatem per D. 2. Mundet f. 15. 3 ad lib.

Dominica X Post Pentecosten

Introit cum clamarem ad Dominum, et exaudivit vocem meam ab his qui approximant mihi, et humiliavit eos qui est ante sæcula et manet in æternum. jacta cogitatum tuum in Domino, et ipse te enutriet Ps exaudi Deus orationem meam, et ne despexeris deprecationem meam. intende mihi, et exaudi me ℣ Gloria Oratio.

Deus qui omnipotentiam tuam parcendo maximè, et miserando manifestas: multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut ad tua promissa currentes cœlestium bonorum facias esse consortes per D.

2. a cunctis f. 12. 3. ad lib.

Lect. ep. B. Pauli ap. ad Corinth

Fratres scitis, quoniam cum gentes essetis, ad simulacra muta prout ducebamini euntes. ideo notum vobis facio, quod nemo in spiritu Dei loquens dicit anathema Jesu. et nemo potest dicere: Dominus Jesus, nisi in spiritu sancto divisiones verò gratiarum sunt, idem autem spiritus et divisiones ministrationum sunt, idem autem Dominus et divisiones operationum sunt idem autem Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus. unicuique autem datur manifestatio spiritus ad utilitatem. alii quidem per Spiritum datur sermo sapientiæ alii autem sermo scientiæ secundum

FAC-SIMILE OF A PAGE OF FATHER SCHNEIDER'S MANUSCRIPT MISSAL.

productive. The missionary, Rev. John Williams, who remained here till July 27, 1768, depended on a yearly allowance of £30 from the Superior. The mission of St. Mary's at Queenstown, or Tuckahoe, had now become the residence of one priest, Father Joseph Mosley, who derived £18 from a plantation of 200 acres for his support. The mission of St. Xavier at Bohemia, on the Eastern Shore, where the classical school gave young Carroll his first insight into literature, had at this time only a single priest. The extensive plantation of 1,500 acres yielded an income of £108.

There were four Pennsylvania missions, that of St. Mary, in the city of Philadelphia, where two priests, Fathers Robert Harding and Ferdinand Farmer, attended St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches. They were supported by £45 derived from rent of property, £20 from London (the Sir John James Fund), and £25 regular gratuities. The mission of St. Paul at Cushenhopen, or Goshenhoppen, directed at this time by Father John Baptist de Ritter, had a farm of 500 acres, yielding £45; and there was besides £20 from London. The mission of St. John Nepomucene at Lancaster was soon after directed by Father Luke Geissler. The mission owned three lots in town, paying £4 5s. ground rent; and £20 came from London. The priest stationed at the mission of St. Francis Regis in Conewago received £20 from a farm of 120 acres, and as much from London.[1]

There were in Pennsylvania about 3,000 adult "customers," that is, communicants, as many under age, or not communicants. The extent of the excursions made by each missionary covered a tract about 130 miles long by 35 broad. Each missionary post paid for the support, bread, meat, and

[1] The reader will notice that the names of these separate missions differ from those of the churches.

firing of the Fathers, and maintained a public meeting-place of divine worship, without calling on the flocks whom they directed. From the incomes given they had, too, to pay repairs, new buildings, taxes, quit rents, doctor's bills, and help to make up a yearly payment of £200, which the American mission owed to creditors in England.[1]

In Maryland there were estimated to be 10,000 adult "Customers" or Communicants, and nearly as many under age or non-communicants. The missionaries were at their residence generally two Sundays in the month; during the rest of the time they were visiting the Catholics in their district, saying mass at private chapels or other places where Catholics would assemble. By this time the faithful were dispersed all over the province.

The hospitality which the Maryland missionaries were called upon to extend to their people, added considerably to the annual expenses.[2]

Of the mission of St. Mary's at Queenstown, or Tuckahoe as then styled, we have fortunately an account by the Father deputed to the task. Writing to his sister, Father Joseph Mosley says: "Its a Mission that ought to have been settled above these 60 years past by Reason of y^{e} immense Trouble & excessive Rides it had given our Gentlemen that lived next to it, altho' within 200 miles of it: yet, till these days, no one wou'd undertake it, either for want of Resolution, or Fear of y^{e} Trouble, notwithstanding it had contributed much to y^{e} deaths of several of ours & had broak y^{e} Constitution of

[1] Rev. F. Luke O'Reiley, of St. Croix, apparently a priest who had come from the West Indies for his health, died at Philadelphia in 1768. "Pennsylvania Chronicle," December 12–19, 1768; "New York Gazette," December 26, 1768.

[2] Rev. George Hunter, Statement sent to Mr. Dennett, Provincial, July 28, 1765.

every one who went down to it, altho' it was but twice a year, except Calls to y^e^ Sick. I was deputed in Aug^t^ 1764 to settle a new place in y^e^ midst of this Mission; accordingly I set off for those Parts of y^e^ country, I examined y^e^ situation of every Congregation within 60 mile of it, and before y^e^ End of that Year, I came across y^e^ very Spot, as Providence wou'd have it, with land to be sold, nigh y^e^ center of y^e^ whole, that was to be tended: I purchased y^e^ land & took possession in March following. On y^e^ Land there were three Buildings, a miserable Dwelling-House, a much worse for some Negroes, & a House to cure Tobacco in. My dwelling-House was nothing but a few Boards riven from Oak Trees, not sawed Plank, & these nailed together to keep out some of y^e^ Coldest air: not one Brick or Stone about it, no plastering, & no chimney, but a little Hole in y^e^ Roof to let out y^e^ Smoak. In this I lived till y^e^ Winter, when I got it plaster'd to keep of y^e^ Cold, & built a Brick chimney, y^e^ Bricks I was obliged to buy & cart above 5 mile. One great Benefit I had, there was Wood enough about me, so I cou'd not want Fire. I have as yet y^e^ Place chiefly to clear of y^e^ Woods, before I can tend anything to any advantage. Our Gentlemen have supplied me with Negroes, as many as I wanted to cut down y^e^ Woods, to open a Plantation, in which I succeed much to my satisfaction: I doubt not but in a Little Time to accomplish my Ends, & whole Design, & to settle here a Place much to our future Ease & Comfort. It's true y^e^ Labours will still be great, yet not to be compared to what they were, before this Place was settled. The chief congregation is but 10 mile off; y^e^ 2^nd^—20; y^e^ 3^rd^, 24; 4^th^ 22; 5^th^ at Home, 6^th^—22. All these I visite once in two months. I have two others which I visit but twice a year. 1^st^ 39; y^e^ others 90 mile off. This you'll say is still hard. It's easy D^r^ S^r^ to what it was. Notwithstanding y^e^ Trouble I had to pur-

chase y^e^ Land, to improve y^e^ Place, to build & tend y^e^ workmen, yet I never neglected any one of my missions on their due & set Time. It's true I could not find Time to write to you, or to any of my Friends, or rather had I found Time & been never so willing, I could not have found proper conveniences to write, unless I had wrote upon y^e^ Grass in y^e^ open Air. But now, Thank God, I've things a little better settled about me. For I've now a sort of a House, a Table, a Desk, some Chairs, Paper & Ink, Candles &c., which in great part, I wanted all last year." "I have now my Cows, my Sheep, Hogs, Turkeys, Geese & other Dunghill Fowl, I've my own Grain & make my own Bread."[1]

Father Ritter, the energetic successor of the good Father Schneider, was constantly visiting his extended district. The faith was gaining at Reading. A clergyman of the Church of England wrote from that place, June 25, 1765: "The Popish congregation here are served by a Jesuit priest once a month, and it appears are a considerable body from the number of communicants among them on Trinity Sunday last, who are said to have exceeded 200."[2] Father Ritter certainly secured ground in Reading that year, for he records an interment in the Catholic cemetery on the 11th of November; and his Register gives evidence that he had reared a little church before the summer of the following year, for on the 11th of May, 1766, he records two baptisms in the chapel at Reading.[3]

He also visited Haycock's, where the Catholics collected at Ed. Carty's house, Tinicum, Cedar Creek, which he latinizes

[1] Father Joseph Mosley to Mrs. Dunn, Tuckahoe, Oct. 14, 1766.

[2] Rev. Alexander Murray to Secretary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

[3] Register of Goshenhoppen.

Torrentem Cedron, the Blue Mountains, Mount Oley (Montem Oliveti), Magunshi, Falkner's Swamp, Rich Valley, Alle Mängel, Paint Forge, seeking far and wide careless and negligent Catholics, till in 1771 the holy sacrifice was offered in Easton and Allentown.

From St. Joseph's Father Farmer made extended tours through New Jersey, from Long Pond, now Greenwood Lake, on the New York line, Ringwood and Charlottenburg in that vicinity, to Gothland, Concord, Pikesland, Pilesgrove, the Glass House, Salem, and Cohansey in the South.

About this time this intrepid priest may have reached New York; but the danger attending his visits apparently prevented any record being made. There is not only tradition but a positive statement of Archbishop Carroll, who was associated on the mission in this country with Farmer for twelve years, that that excellent priest had a little Catholic congregation in New York before the Revolution.[1]

It would seem even that he had a recognized chapel which was burned during the war, apparently in the great conflagration which followed the retreat of the American army after the terrible defeat at Brooklyn. Where this chapel stood there is nothing to indicate, but the fact of its destruction by fire is mentioned some years after by two French officials in their reports to their government.[2]

[1] In my boyhood I heard from my grandmother, Mrs. M. A. (McCurtain) Flanagan, that Father Farmer, whom she remembered distinctly and venerated, had visited New York before the Revolution. Finding nothing to corroborate the fact, which Campbell, De Courcy, and Archbishop Bayley stated on my family tradition, I had grown skeptical, when I met the positive statement made in the draft of Archbishop Carroll's reply to Smyth.

[2] Letter of Barbé Marbois to the Minister, December 26, 1784. Letter of Mr. Otto, Chargé d'Affaires to the Minister, January 2, 1786. I owe this correspondence to the kind and friendly courtesy of Mr. Robert St.

There is no indication in Father Farmer's registers of any visits to New York, and it is impossible to fix the time when he began his labors in that city. Yet the act prohibiting the very presence of a Catholic priest within the limits of the colony still stood on the statute-book of New York and was appealed to as still in force, by the British authorities during the Revolution, as we shall see hereafter.

In 1770 Father Mosley wrote: "I am still living on a new settlement, that is a Child of my own Care and Industry. I was pitched upon as a proper Person to begin it; it had been greatly wanted for many Years for y^e^ good of those Parts, & by y^e^ Help of God & good Friends, I began it & have nigh finished it to my satisfaction: We lived on it nigh 7 Years. I confess it has been a very troublesome Jobb to me; y^e^ hardest that I ever undertook in my Life. The Fatigues of a Long and numerous Mission, with y^e^ attendance on this new Place in its Infancy almost worsted me. I suffered in it, for want of almost every necessary of Life: & which cou'd not be avoided by any one that shou'd undertake it, as it lay at such a Distance from any of our Places, from which alone I cou'd expect any Relief. But thank God, I can now almost live with some Comfort, as I begin to have things grow about me." [1]

By this time Father Williams had been succeeded at Frederick by Rev. John Walton. Father Joseph Hathersty, after laboring at Newtown, became an assistant in Philadelphia, leaving at his early death, May 8, 1771, at the age of thirty-five, the reputation of a most holy and zealous missionary.[2]

John de Crêvecœur, biographer and descendant of J. Hector St. John de Crêvecœur, first French Consul at New York.

[1] Rev. Joseph Mosley to Mrs. Dunn, September 8, 1770.

[2] Rev. W. P. Treacy, "Catalogue of our Missionary Fathers," in Woodstock Letters, xv., pp. 97–8.

He was soon followed to the grave by the Rev. Robert Harding, who closed his twenty-three years' pastorship of St. Joseph's Church in that city, in his seventieth year, by a happy death, on Tuesday, September , 1772.[1] His unbounded charities, his zeal in the ministry, his patronage of American art in the person of Benjamin West, and his support of the claims of the colonists made him respected and venerated by all.

"The funeral was the next day attended by most of the clergy and respectable inhabitants of the city to the place of interment in the new chapel near the altar, where divine service was celebrated and a sermon preached from the pulpit by the Rev. Mr. Farmer to a very crowded auditory."

In 1770 the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland, undeterred by the increasing difficulties of the Society, resolved to undertake the erection of a church in Baltimore. The clergy of the Established Church had grown so unpopular that when, in 1770, a law granting a revenue to them expired, the Assembly refused to re-enact it. This left no law on the statute-book under which they could exact contributions from the people except that of 1702. To this an objection was now made, that the law was invalid and null, as it was passed after the death of William III. by an Assembly called under him and as of his reign. Catholics would not have dared to raise this question, but when others did they doubtless profited by the uncertainty.[2] The discussion of the question was

[1] "Pennsylvania Packet," September 7, 1772. The same paper contains Caspipina (Duché's) Letter, dated January 14, 1772, referring to Father Harding, afterward reprinted in "Caspipina's Letters," London, 1777, i., p. 186. There is a tribute to Father Harding in "Travels from Paris through Switzerland and Italy by a Native Pennsylvanian in 1801 and 1802," London, 1808, p. 225.

[2] Gambrall, "Church Life in Colonial Maryland," Baltimore, 1885, p. 248.

warm, and engaged able men on both sides in the journals of the day, in public meetings, and courts of law, till the matter was compromised in 1773.[1]

The great political movement in the colonies against imposing taxes on the people of America without their consent colored and heightened the controversy, especially after the Governor of Maryland attempted to impose fees by proclamation. "The truth is, the American Revolution had then begun, for it is a mistake to suppose it commenced in the days of Bunker Hill and Lexington. It began before. It had its commencement in the discussions of great principles of government to which men's minds were brought by the agitation of various kindred questions in all these colonies; and Bunker Hill and Lexington were but fields for the display of the first overt acts that developed principles of some years' standing, for the support of which these injured colonies had, not hastily, but deliberately, resolved to peril all they had."[2]

"About the year 1770," says a gentleman, who was one of the little Catholic flock at Baltimore in 1768, "the Catholics having increased in numbers determined to build a church. A lot for this purpose, fronting on Saratoga and Charles Streets, was obtained from Mr. Carroll, and on the northwest side of it a very plain brick building was erected, of the modest dimensions of about twenty-five by thirty feet, long

[1] Hawks, "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States," ii., pp. 262–269.

[2] In a newspaper dialogue "Second Citizen" defended a proclamation of the Governor, in which he attempted to regulate fees, etc., without the consent of the Assembly. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, under the signature of "The First Citizen," attacked it with such learning and skill that Daniel Dulany, the leader of the Maryland bar, attempted to answer him, but was completely worsted in the controversy. Scharf, "History of Maryland," ii., p. 127.

known as St. Peter's Church. Mr. John McNabb erected or superintended the building until the walls and the roof were completed. It is probable that the church was then used for the purposes of worship, although in an unfinished state. Before its completion the superintendent failed in business, owing a debt, on account of the building, of two hundred pounds, in Maryland currency (about five hundred and forty dollars). The principal creditor, Mr. P——, locked up the church and kept possession of the key until 1774, or 1775. Griffith, in his Annals of Baltimore, says, 'By a ludicrous suit against Ganganelli, pope of Rome, for want of other defendant to recover the advances of Mr. McNabb, who became a bankrupt, the church was some time closed, at the commencement of the revolution, and the congregation assembled in a private house in South Charles Street until possession was recovered.'" [1]

It would seem that with the growing feeling of toleration toward Catholics, the Maryland priests had ventured to secure a piece of ground and rear a log-cabin on the soil of Virginia. A Catholic church in Alexandria is mentioned as early as 1772 in a work of doubtful authenticity.[2]

In the following year a number of Catholic Highlanders from Glengarry, invited by Sir William Johnson, came over and took up lands in the Mohawk valley, and prospered so that further emigration to New York was certain.[3]

[1] This is one of the reminiscences obtained by the historic zeal of Col. B. U. Campbell, "The Religious Cabinet," 1842, p. 311.

[2] Peyton, "Adventures of My Grandfather," London, 1867. Woodstock Letters, xiv., p. 97.

[3] "An emigration from Glengarry to Albany in America, had succeeded so well as to make it certain that another body of emigrants would leave the Highlands in a short time. The destitution in that part of the country was very great." Gordon, "Journal and Appendix to Scoto-

We have seen how the Brief "Dominus ac Redemptor," signed by Pope Clement XIV., July 21, 1773, was enforced at Bruges. It was soon enforced in the American mission.

On the 6th of October Bishop Challoner transmitted to the clergy in the British Provinces, all members of the Society, the following:

"To Messrs. the Missioners in Maryland and Pennsylvania:

"To obey the orders I have received from above, I notify to you by this the Breve of the total dissolution of the Society of Jesus; and send withal a form of declaration of your obedience and submission, to which you are all to subscribe, as your brethren have done here; and send me back the formula with the subscriptions of you all, as I am to send them up to Rome.

"Ever yours,

"October 6, 1773. RICHARD DEBOREN, V. Ap."

The form which they were required to subscribe was as follows:

"Infrascripti Congregationis Clericorum regularium Societatis Jesu dudum nuncupati presbyteri in Districtu Londinensi Marylandiæ et Pennsylvaniæ missionarii, facta nobis declaratione et publicatione Brevis Apostolici a Ssmo Dño nostro Clem. PP. XIV editi die 21 Julii 1773 quo prædictam Congregationem et Societatem penitus supprimit et extinguit toto orbi terrarum; jubetque illius instituti Presbyteros tanquam Sacerdotes sæculares, Episcoporum regimini et auctoritate omnino subjectos esse, nos supradicti brevi plenè et sincerè obtemperantes et omnimodo dictæ Societatis suppres-

chronicon and Monasticon," Glasgow, 1867, p. 127. This is said in 1773, so that the emigration probably preceded that year.

sioni humiliter acquiescentes supramemorati Episcopi Vicarii apostolici, tanquam presbyteri sæculares jurisdictioni et regimini nos omnino subjicimus."

By this final blow the English province of the Society of Jesus was annihilated with its American mission; its priests became isolated clergymen, far removed from a bishop, and subject to one unable to visit them, and who had declared to the Propaganda his utter inability to supply priests for these remote churches.

The mission of the Society of Jesus in Maryland which had subsisted from 1634, a period of one hundred and thirty-nine years, was thus annihilated. The novitiate and scholasticates in Europe which had hitherto supplied missioners for the work were already suppressed; the Fathers became secular priests, but the venerable Vicar-Apostolic of London had no means of supplying clergymen for the extensive missions thus thrown suddenly upon him. From the very necessity of the circumstances Bishop Challoner left the Maryland clergy as they were. The Superior of the Mission, Rev. John Lewis, continued to act as his Vicar-General, apparently without a new appointment, and held the office till the death of Bishop Challoner in 1781.[1] There were in all nineteen Fathers,[2] several of them more than

[1] Some writers (see Woodstock Letters, vi., p. 10) assume that Father Lewis became Vicar-General after the suppression; but as the Superior of the Mission had apparently always been appointed Vicar-General, I infer from Bp. Carroll's language, that Father Lewis continued to act under powers already conferred, and which ceased only on the death of the Bishop.

[2] At the time of the suppression the Rev. John Lewis was Superior of the Mission, the priests under him being Rev. George Hunter and John Bolton at St. Thomas' Manor, Port Tobacco, with Revs. Louis Roels, Benedict Neale, Arnold Livers; the Rev. James Walton and Ignatius Matthews at Newtown; Rev. John Lucas and Joseph Doyne at St. Inigoes;

To Messrs the Missioners in Maryland & Pensilvania

Messrs

To obey the orders I have rec^d from above, I notify to you by this the Brave of the total dissolution of the Society of Jesus. and send withal a form of declaration of your obedience & submissions to which you are all desired to subscribe, as your brethren have done here; and send me back the formula with the subscriptions of you all, as I am to send them up to Rome..

Ever yours

Oct 6 1773

Richard Deboren V. Ap

BISHOP CHALLONER'S NOTIFICATION TO THE MARYLAND MISSIONARIES, OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

sixty years, and only one as young as thirty. There were some American Fathers in Europe who might return to their native land, but as other missionaries in Maryland might retire to Europe to die among their own kindred, the number was not likely to increase; and no steps were taken to keep up a supply of priests in this country. One of the missionaries, addressing his sister in England, wrote: "And now I mention it, I can't do it without tears in my Eyes. Yes, dear Sister, our Body or Factory is dissolved, of which your two brothers are members; and for myself I know I am an unworthy one, when I see so many worthy, saintly, pious, learned, laborious miss rs dead and alive been members of y^e^ same, thro' y^e^ last two ages. I know no Fault that we are guilty off. I am convinced that our Labours are pure, upright & sincere for God's honour & our Neighbour's Good. What our Supreme Judge on Earth may think of our Labours is a Mystery to me. He has hurt his own Cause not us. It's true he has stigmatized us thro' ye World with Infamy & declared us unfit for our Business or his Service. Our dissolution is known thro' y^e^ World, its in every News-Paper, which makes me ashamed to show my Face." "As

Rev. John Ashton at Whitemarsh; Rev. Bernard Diderick at Boone's Chapel; Rev. John Boone and the aged Rev. Thos. Digges at Melwood; Rev. Joseph Mosley at Tuckahoe; Rev. James Frambach at Frederick; Rev. Peter Morris and Matthias Manners at Bohemia; Rev. Ferdinand Farmer and Robert Molyneux at Philadelphia; Rev. Lucas Geisler and Rev. James Pellentz at Conewago; Rev. J. B. de Ritter at Goshenhoppen. (List compiled by Bishop B. J. Fenwick, followed by B. U. Campbell, "U. S. Cath. Mag.," iii., 171, 365, corrected in Woodstock Letters, vi., p. 9; xv., p. 98.) These were soon joined by the American Fathers Sylvester and John Boarman, who arrived March 21, 1774; by Fathers Charles Sewall and Augustine Jenkins, who arrived May 24; and by Father John Carroll, who arrived June 26, accompanied by Father Anthony Carroll, a native of Ireland, who returned to England in the following year.

we're judged unserviceable, we labour with little Heart & what is worse by no Rule. To my great Sorrow y^e^ S.... ty is abolished, with it must dy all that zeal that was founded & raised on it. Labour for our Neighbour is a J.... t's Pleasure, destroy y^e^ J.... t & Labour is painful & disagreeable. I must allow with Truth, that what was my Pleasure is now irksome. Every Fatigue I underwent caused a secret & inward Satisfaction, its now unpleasant & disagreeable, every Visit to y^e^ Sick was done with a good Will, its now done with as bad a one. I disregarded this unhealthy climate & all its Agues & Fevers, which have realy paid me to my Heart's Content, for y^e^ sake of my Rule. Y^e^ Night was agreeable as y^e^ Day, Frost & Cold as a warm Fire or a soft Bed, y^e^ excessive Heats as welcome as a cool Shade or pleasant Breezes, but now y^e^ scene is changed y^e^ J... t is metamorphosed into I know not what, he is a Monster, a scare-crow in my Ideas. With Joy I impaired my Health & broak my Constitution in y^e^ Care of my Flock. It was y^e^ J... t's call it was his whole Aim & Business. The J.... t is no more, he now endeavours to repair his little Remains of Health & his shatter'd Constitution as he has no Rule calling him to expose it."[1]

Yet this natural discouragement soon vanished. Every

[1] Letter to Mrs. Dunn, Bladon, England, dated 8d October, 1774, and signed "Jos Mosley S.J. forever as I think and hope." Not a single missionary employed on the Mission here withdrew to England as the troubles approached, or while the war was in progress, sought protection from the British. In view of the shameful charges made against the patriotism of our Catholic clergy by modern enemies, it is well to bear this fact in mind. The clergyman who came over with Dr. Carroll, crossed the ocean on private business, and returned when it was settled. He was never actually attached to the American mission. The contractions in the letter scarcely need explanation. The words are "Missioner," "Society," "Jesuit."

single missionary remained at his post, and the Catholics were not deprived of their disinterested pastors. One great danger was averted.

Meanwhile the English colonies in America had, from the close of the war with France, been in a constant fever of political excitement. Acting as separate governments, the several colonies had furnished soldiers and supplies for that struggle, but after the peace of Paris they found that England insisted on taxing them through her Parliament, in which America had no representation. There was at first no thought of independence. Even as event after event increased the colonial feeling against England, neither the colonies nor the mother-country seemed to have the least forecast of the ultimate result, although it was freely canvassed in the council of the French king.[1] The colonists claimed only their rights as British subjects, and were as proud of being such, as any who resided in England itself. As late as June, 1775, the Continental Congress asked God to bless "our rightful sovereign King George III." England neither granted relief nor exerted force, but kept agitation alive, till all loyalty insensibly died out in the hearts of her American subjects.[2]

The attempt to raise a revenue by the Stamp Act, which required all legal and commercial documents to be on stamped paper, roused a firm and defiant opposition, in which the stamps were destroyed and the English officials appointed were forced to promise not to act. The law was repealed, but as the principle that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies was not abandoned, the spirit of opposition, though

[1] Colleville, "Les Missions Secrètes du Général-Major Baron de Kalb," Paris, 1885.

[2] See Letters of John Jay and John Adams in Botta, "N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.," xxx., p. 326.

latent, was watchful and suspicious.[1] When Parliament attempted to tax tea, paints, and glass, the opposition became even more bold and decided, unawed by the presence of troops, and the colonies met in a Congress which hoped to justify its name of Continental. The dispatch of troops to America, the closing of the port of Boston, and the Quebec Act precipitated events, and the attempt of General Gage at Boston to seize colonial ammunition and stores brought on the first engagement between English soldiers and American militia.

In the general feeling that pervaded the colonies the Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania were in perfect harmony with their fellow-colonists. Among their clergy those of American birth like Carroll, and ten others who soon after returned from Europe, were ardent in the claim put forth for the rights of British subjects which were denied them. Among those of English birth the feeling was apparently strong, as there is no indication that any of them sought to return to England, and Duché in his "Caspipina's Letters" bears tribute to the patriotic feeling displayed by Father Robert Harding at Philadelphia.[2] Among the German Catholics and their clergy, to whom the political questions were not as clear or intelligible, there was probably less activity.

The hostile feeling evoked by the Quebec Act was evanescent. The childish fear of imaginary dangers soon gave place to the practical questions before them.

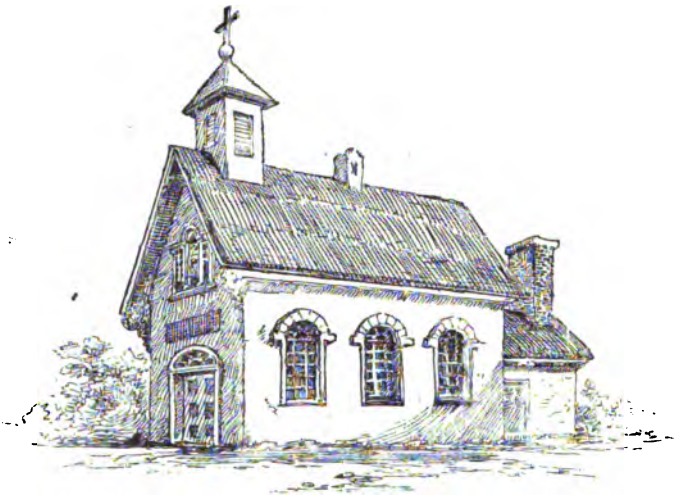
The newspapers in the colonies, which before 1763 teemed with articles and passages full of hostility to the Church, as-

[1] "Pennsylvania Packet," June 12, 1775.

[2] The Letter was printed in the "Pennsylvania Packet," September 7, 1772, in which also appeared the notice of Father Harding's death.

sumed a different tone after the conquest of Canada, and anti-Catholic items became rare.[1]

Religious liberty became a theme for popular discussion, and when once treated could not be restricted to the old narrow limits.[2] People began to doubt whether "Popery" was such "an implacable enemy to the general liberties of mankind": and the discussions of the Quebec Act after the first outburst of the old virulence, led to more kindly feel-



CHURCH OF ST. IGNATIUS, ST. INIGOES, MD.

ings. The best token is seen in the open way in which Catholics erected churches, and extended their missions. Not only were the houses of the clergy restored in St. Mary's County, a residence at St. Inigoes, and a new chapel

[1] See Extracts from Colonial Papers in "U. S. Catholic Hist. Mag.," vol. i., N. Y., 1887.

[2] See "The Palladium of Conscience; or, the Foundation of Religious Liberty, Displayed, Asserted, and Established." Philadelphia, 1773. Part ii., pp. 27, 47, 69, 105.

erected at Newtown by Father Ashbey; a new residence at St. Thomas' by Father George Hunter, the Frederick church and house enlarged, the church at Baltimore, begun in apparent defiance of the law, was attended through the period of the Revolution by Rev. Bernard Diderick. In Pennsylvania also, at Lancaster and Philadelphia, even greater progress was made.

Such was the condition of the Church in this country when the Rev. John Carroll returned, with the view of devoting the rest of his life to mission work among the people of the colonies, whose political and religious future were alike in a critical state.

When the suppression of the Society of Jesus dissolved the English province and its Maryland mission, the members in America formed a kind of association, using the old property to afford from its annual income a support to all the clergy, then some nineteen in number. Rev. Mr. Carroll was invited to join this association, but as it lacked a formal sanction of the Vicar-Apostolic, and of the authorities in Rome, prudence dictated caution, and he resolved to act simply as a missionary priest under the faculties he held, rather than become subject to removal from place to place.

The Rev. Mr. Carroll wished to take up his residence with his mother and begin a mission in that district, which was without a resident priest. Possessing faculties from the Vicar-Apostolic in England, he recognized fully his Vicar-General in America, but did not feel inclined to yield obedience to a body constituted without authority from the Bishop or the Holy See. His life as a religious had been spent on the Continent, where France and Austria had seized all the property; the members of the Society in England had not regarded him as entitled to any share in the income from any property there, inasmuch as he had never been on the English mission.

He was now cut off from any share in the property of the Society in his native Maryland, and having on making his last vows resigned his property to his brothers and sisters, he was utterly without means.

His mother and sisters had removed their residence from his native place, Upper Marlborough, to Rock Creek, near the Potomac, about ten miles from the present capital of the country. Here the American priest beheld a field of labor where much could be accomplished. There were Catholics in the neighborhood, and many at greater or less distance who could be reached by a priest willing to devote himself to their service. There were stations in Virginia which had been occasionally attended by the Fathers till the difficulties of the order diminished the number of missioners, and none came from abroad to replace those whose vigor was impaired by age or over-exertion.

The Rev. Mr. Carroll could attend the district extending from his mother's house at Rock Creek to his brother-in-law Brent's mansion at Aquia Creek in Virginia, much more successfully than any other priest, and the Vicar-General apparently allotted the district expressly to him.

A room in the mansion at Rock Creek was the first chapel, and the people gathered gratefully from the surrounding country, to hear mass and revive their faith in the clear practical instructions of the clergyman who had won attention in the polished literary circles of France and the Netherlands as well as in the castles of the English nobility. The little congregation at Rock Creek grew so rapidly that it was soon necessary to prepare a special building, and the erection of St. John's church was begun about half a mile from his residence.

It was, from all we know, the first church under secular clergy established in Maryland, and the first after St. Peter's

church in Baltimore, reared by a congregation which supported a pastor—a system common enough to us now, but till then unknown in Maryland, where the Jesuit Fathers had maintained the services of religion at their own expense.

The Maryland district thus undertaken by Rev. Mr. Carroll had generally been visited at times from Port Tobacco: the Virginia side was one of great danger. It is said that Father Frambach from Frederick, visited it only by night, and slept beside his horse, ready to mount and put him to his full speed at the slightest warning; and that more than once the bullets of the pursuers whistled around the head of the devoted priest, for whose blood men were thirsting in their hatred of the Church of the Living God.

By the firesides of Catholic Maryland was long told how the great Father George Hunter, whose reputation for sanctity was general and enduring, was once summoned at night by two young men who guided him to the Potomac, ferried him over by quick and noiseless strokes of the oars, then galloped with him to the cottage on horses ready for them. After the dying Catholic had been prepared by all the blessed means the Church affords for the terrible hour, his mysterious guides conducted the good priest down the Virginia roads, across the Potomac to his own door, and there in the bright moonlight vanished utterly from sight. No such youths were known among the Catholics on either side of the river. That good Father Hunter believed them to have been angels sent to guide him to a soul whose prayers had reached the throne of God, has ever since been the tradition in Maryland.[1]

[1] Father Frambach's peril is referred to by several writers. "The Jubilee at Mount St. Mary's," New York, 1859, p. 82; "U. S. Catholic Magazine," iii., p. 171. The incident in the life of Father George Hunter is given on the authority of Father Charles Stonestreet, in "The Messenger of the Sacred Heart," xxii., p. 609.

Yet Virginia had been the scene of the labors of Dominican and Jesuit before Protestantism set foot on its soil, which had been bedewed with the blood of martyrs. In the very outset of Maryland history it had been a field where Father Altham, the companion of Andrew White, had labored.

Such was the field on which the American priest, restored to his native land, began the exercise of his ministry. "He was obliged to keep a horse for the long journeys required in visiting his regular stations and attending the sick. It is not improbable also that he observed the custom of his brother priests in Maryland at that time of inviting to breakfast those who had come from a long distance to partake of holy communion—a kind and thoughtful proceeding no doubt, and characteristic of Maryland hospitality, but none the less a pecuniary burthen to the host," and in his case a heavy one in view of his slender resources.[1]

The pastor of Rock Creek gave his brief and occasional moments of leisure to study, though he suffered from a want of books, his little personal collection having been seized by the Austrian government, and there being no large library accessible to him. He kept up a correspondence with friends and persons of distinction abroad: and at the same time many gentlemen of Virginia and Maryland sought the acquaintance and enjoyed the conversation of the polished scholar, familiar with many European languages, fully versed in questions relating to the different countries of the Old World. He impressed all with his ability and piety, as well

[1] Woodstock Letters, vii., p. 11. The little missal used by Rev. Mr. Carroll during his mission life at Rock Creek was presented to Georgetown College by Bishop Chanche, of Natchez, and is preserved in the Library. Ib., p. 73. "Georgetown College Journal," vi.

as by a cultivated grace and refinement, which was his characteristic through life.[1]

Writing in 1844, Colonel Bernard U. Campbell says of the chapel at Rock Creek, then standing:

"At the distance of half a mile from his residence was the church in which he officiated on Sundays and holidays, an humble frame building of about thirty feet square, which still remains, though often patched and seldom painted, a frail and tottering memorial of its saintly pastor, and an evidence of the humble condition of Catholics sixty years ago."[2]

Unfortunately no sketch of it seems ever to have been made before it was removed, some years afterward, to give place to a more substantial edifice.[3]

When Florida by the treaty of 1763 ceased to be a part of the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, the inhabitants at first regarded the change as one to be of short duration. Many prepared to remain, but the violence of Major Ogilvie and the first British officials soon produced a change, and the

[1] B. U. Campbell, "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll." - "U. S. Catholic Magazine," iii., p. 865.

[2] Ib., p. 793.

[3] My efforts to obtain a sketch or detailed description of this church have been fruitless. "Since that time," says the historian of Georgetown College in the Woodstock Letters (vii., p. 14), "the old building has been replaced by a larger frame structure, more neatly kept and attended twice a month by the pastor of Rockville. It bears the name of St. John's, as doubtless its predecessor did—a tribute by the original builder to the apostle whose name he bore, and whose virtues he imitated. Around it lie the graves of many Carrolls, relatives of the first pastor, as were also the Brents, Diggeses, and perhaps Fenwicks, Neales, etc., who are buried here. Within the enclosure of the Brents is the grave of his venerable mother; the headstone, now after more than fourscore years, sunk so as partly to obscure the inscription. The old mansion, with its holy memories of mother and son, was destroyed by fire many years since, and its site is occupied by a modern dwelling."

Spanish population emigrated almost in a body. To protect the church property from seizure by the British government, Don Juan Jose Eligio de la Puente, an officer appointed by the Spanish monarch, conveyed in trust to John Gordon, for the nominal consideration of $1,000, the Bishop's House, on the public square; the Convent of St. Francis for $1,500, and the church of Nuestra Señora de la Leche for $300; and conveyed the site of the new parish church and the still unfinished walls to Jesse Fish for $100.[1]

Bishop Morel, of Santiago de Cuba, by a decree dated February 6, 1764, ordered an inventory to be made of all the vestments, altars, statues, bells, and plate belonging to the Parish Church and Confraternities of St. Augustine, and these articles were conveyed to Havana in the schooner "Nuèstra Señora de la Luz."[2]

In direct violation of the treaty the Catholic inhabitants were at once subjected to vexations; the Bishop's house was seized for the use of the Church of England; the Franciscan Convent, inasmuch as it had the best well of water in the place, was seized for the use of the British troops, and extensive barracks were erected on the old foundations, with lumber imported from New York.[3] A general system of de-

[1] The project, however, failed Gordon was a wealthy South Caroli nian and Fish his agent. They purchased largely from the outgoing Spaniards, but the new English authorities refused to allow the deeds to be recorded. The English officials disregarded entirely the conveyances of the church property, and proceeded to take possession of it, in defiance of the provisions of the treaty.

[2] Reports of Don Jose del Rosario Natte in Report of Solicitor of the Treasury, January 27, 1847 (Senate), pp. 27–30. "The Case of Mr. John Gordon, with respect to the title to certain lands in East Florida purchased of His Catholick Majesty's subjects by him and Mr. Jesse Fish," London, 1772.

[3] Roman, "A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida,"

struction was inaugurated. Of the suburbs of St. Augustine no trace was soon left, except the church in the Indian town to the north of the city, which the English converted into a hospital. The steeple of the Franciscan church stood like a monument of the sacrilegious work, and the parish church was soon little more than a heap of ruins.

The ecclesiastical property at Pensacola was no better respected, and as far as possible all trace of her ancient Catholicity was swept from the soil of Florida.

Yet by the twentieth article of the treaty between Spain and England, the latter power had pledged itself to grant to the inhabitants of Florida "the liberty of the Catholic religion, and that his Britannic Majesty will, in consequence, give the most exact and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish Church, so far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majesty further agrees that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholic King, in the said countries, may retire with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects." [1]

In reorganizing his new possessions the King of England, by his royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, erected the two governments of East and West Florida, the Apalachicola being the dividing line. In the latter, which extended to the Mississippi, Mobile, ceded by France, was included. The inhabitants in this western part, like the French in Louisiana, remained as a rule in the country. The Capuchin

Philadelphia, 1776, pp. 261–4; Haldemand to Chisholm, November 14, 1768; Brymner, "Report on Canadian Archives," 1885, p. 449.

[1] For the legal effect of this clause, see p. .

Father, John Francis, on the 4th of March, 1763, and twenty-two days later Father Ferdinand, of the same order, sign as parish priests. The latter remained, recognized by the Catholics and undisturbed by the English authorities, till the 18th of April, 1769, when, for the last time, he assumed the title of parish priest.

He did not resume his ministry at Mobile till the 5th of July, 1770, when he made a visit lasting to the 27th, baptizing and administering the sacraments. In 1773 he made a second mission to his old parish, his feeble hand showing him broken by age. Then there is no trace of any priest at Mobile till December, 1777, when Father Paul, a Capuchin, was among the Catholics, baptizing negroes belonging to the Krebs family. The visits probably extended to some points on the coast between New Orleans and Mobile.[1]

The Spanish, who had at first proposed to remain at St. Augustine and Pensacola, were soon forced by the vexations of British officials to follow the mass of their countrymen. The Congregation de Propaganda Fide had not overlooked their spiritual wants: the Archbishop of Lepanto, Nuncio at Madrid, was directed to ascertain the condition of the Catholics left under British rule, but he could only reply that they had all withdrawn from Florida.[2]

It was not in the designs of Providence that Florida was to be left without a Catholic population, that a land bedewed with the blood of so many martyrs was to be lost.

An association in England headed by Dr. Andrew Turnbull obtained a grant of lands at Mosquito Inlet, where they proposed to establish extensive plantations and manufactories of sugar and indigo. To work these, fourteen hundred Mi-

[1] Registers of Mobile.

[2] Archbishop of Lepanto to the Cardinal Prefect, April 24, 1764.

norcans, Italians, and Greeks were brought over by Turnbull in eight vessels, which reached Florida June 26, 1768. These immigrants were conducted to Mosquito, where the settlement of New Smyrna was founded.

The Catholic settlers were not left without spiritual guides. The Rev. Dr. Peter Camps, missionary-apostolic, and Father Bartholomew Casas Novas, a Franciscan from the Convent of Torro in Minorca, then held by the English, came with the immigrants and revived the Catholic worship in Florida as parish priest and assistant of San Pedro de Mosquito, and a church under that invocation was soon erected. This new parish was established by the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, to whom the priests were subject, and Dr. Camps had special faculties from Rome, empowering him to confer the sacrament of Confirmation.[1]

The treatment of these settlers was cruel and oppressive in the extreme,[2] and though some writers now endeavor to palliate the conduct of Turnbull, the evidence against him is overwhelming. Nine hundred perished in nine years, although the baptisms show a natural increase, indicative of general health. Father Casas Novas, for his evangelical boldness in remonstrating against the cruelties perpetrated on his flock, was seized and sent back to Europe. Doctor Camps, not to deprive the poor people of his ministry, labored on in silence.

[1] The Register of Dr. Camps, beginning in 1768, is extant, showing 21 baptisms in that year; 6 in 1769; 13 in 1770; 29 in 1771; 31 in 1772; 52 in 1773, and 31 in 1774.

[2] "The inhabitants of Minorca were originally Spaniards, and hostile to England. They had been permitted the full enjoyment of their religion and properties, from the cession of the island to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht to the present hour." "The Justice and Policy of the late Act of Parliament," etc., London, 1774. The Minorca precedent supported the construction of the treaty of Paris in 1763. The arrival of five vessels is noticed in "Pennsylvania Chronicle," July 18-25, 1768.

Gov. Grant was in full sympathy with Turnbull, and when the unfortunate people rose in insurrection, he summarily tried and hanged two of them.[1]



SEAL OF CHURCH OF ST. PETER AT MOSQUITO AND SIGNATURE OF REV. DR. CAMPS.

The successful termination of the war gave England also the territory northwest of the Ohio, the rival claims to which had brought on the hostility between the two countries. Virginia and other seaboard colonies had set up claims to this territory, but the British government utterly disregarded them. The French officers in capitulating in Canada showed a laudable desire to preserve for the people, who had so gallantly fought beside them, all their religious rights intact. This is attested by the Articles of Capitulation between General Amherst and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, at Montreal in September, 1760. The twenty-seventh article provided: "The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore,

[1] An outbreak of the Greeks and Italians took place August 19, 1768, under Carlo Forni. Letter of August 29, 1768. Roman, "A Concise History of Florida," pp. 268–271; "Pennsylvania Chronicle," October 17–24, 1768.

without being molested in any manner directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English government, to pay their priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of his Most Christian Majesty." To this General Amherst wrote: "Granted as to the free exercise of their Religion; the obligation of paying the tithes to the priests will depend on the King's pleasure."

Article 28 read: "The Chapter, priests, curates and missionaries shall continue with an entire liberty, their exercise and functions of curés, in the parishes of the towns and countries." This was granted.

"Article 29. The Grand Vicars, named by the Chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the Episcopal see, shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country parishes, as they shall think proper; they shall at times be free to visit the different parishes of the diocese with the ordinary ceremonies and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of the death of the future Bishop of which mention will be made in the following article." To this Amherst wrote, "Granted except what regards the following article."

The 30th article was refused: "If by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his most Christian majesty shall continue to name the Bishop of the Colony, who shall always be of the Roman Communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman religion."

"Article 31. The Bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his Cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the meantime, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns or parishes as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which

his predecessor exercised under the French dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him." Amherst wrote: "This article is comprised under the foregoing."

"Article 32. The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges; they shall continue to observe their rules, they shall be exempted from lodging any military; and it shall be forbid to molest them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries; safeguards shall ever be given them, if they desire them." "Granted."

"Article 33. The preceding article shall likewise be executed, with regard to the communities of Jesuits and Recollects and of the house of the priests of St. Sulpice at Montreal; these last and the Jesuits shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies (parishes) and missions as heretofore." "Refused till the King's pleasure be known."

"Article 34. All the communities and all the priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the seigniories and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they be; and the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honors and exemptions." This was granted.

Their care extended to the Indians. Vaudreuil's 40th article read: "The Savages or Indian allies of his most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they chuse to remain there, they shall not be molested on any pretense whatsoever, for having carried arms and served his most Christian Majesty; they shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual Vicars-General, and the Bishop, when the Episcopal see shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new missionaries when they shall judge it nec-

essary." "Granted except the last article, which has been already refused."

Under these articles the Church was maintained not only in what we now call Canada, but in the western parts subject to the Governor-General of New France, at the beginning of the war, from the frontier line of posts between Niagara and Fort Duquesne to the Mississippi, south of the great lakes. From this the French sought to except the territory south of the watershed of the Wabash and Illinois Rivers which had been civilly subject to Louisiana; but the English government insisted on including all the territory north and west of the Ohio.

The English authorities took possession of the western country under these articles, while negotiations for a general peace were in progress. Nor were the religious rights of the people overlooked by the diplomatists. The French king insisted "that the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall be maintained there, and that the King of England will give the most precise and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may, as heretofore, make public profession of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Church."[1]

The English ultimatum conceded this: "As to what concerns the public profession and exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, the new subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall be maintained in that privilege without interruption or molestation."

The preliminary articles of peace signed at Fontainebleau in November, 1762, provided: "His Britannic Majesty on his side agrees to grant to the inhabitants of Canada the lib-

[1] Smith, "History of Canada; from its first Discovery to the peace of 1765," Quebec, 1815, i., pp. 367–369.

erty of the Catholic religion. He will in consequence give the most exact and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Church as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."

As finally ratified, February 10, 1763, the treaty of Paris contained this same stipulation.

The position of the Catholics dwelling in Northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—to use our present names—was thus guaranteed by articles of capitulation, and by a treaty long and carefully considered. It was conceded at the time that the clause, "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit," did not mean permit in England, for that would have swept away all liberty whatever, but as far as the laws of England permitted it to be professed in territories that lay without the realm. Provinces, and cities, and islands occupied by Catholics, had by the fortune of war passed at times under English rule, so that the distinction was well known, and the case of Minorca was familiar and recent.

"In 1765 the Lords of Trade sent the following query to Sir Fletcher Norton and Sir William De Grey, then Attorney and Solicitor-General. 'Whether his Majesty's subjects, being Roman Catholics and residing in the countries ceded his majesty in America by the treaty of Paris, are not subject, in those colonies, to the incapacities, disabilities, and penalties, to which Roman Catholics in this kingdom are subject by the law thereof?' To which query those great men answered on the 10th of June: 'That they were not.' And the advocate, attorney, and solicitor-general, in their joint report to the Privy Council upon the propositions of the Board of Trade, presented on the 18th of June, 1768, state it to be their opinion: 'That the several acts of parliament, which

impose disabilities and penalties upon the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion do not extend to Canada: and that his Majesty is not by his prerogative enabled to abolish the dean and chapter of Quebec, nor to exempt the Protestant inhabitants from paying tithes to the persons, legally entitled to demand them from the Roman Catholics.'"[1]

Lord Thurlow too declared: "The free exercise of their religion by the laity, and of their function by the clergy, was also reserved."[2]

By the highest legal opinion in England therefore the Catholics in our Northwestern territory were by the Treaty of Paris secured in the full and complete enjoyment of their religion as under the French rule, and of course in the possession of their churches and ecclesiastical property, to such an extent that not the King himself by his royal prerogative could deprive the priest of his tithes, even from those not of his faith.

The only restraint was that the Jesuits were not assured of permanence in their Indian missions, but in point of fact the three remaining Fathers, Potier, du Jaunay, and Lefranc were never disturbed.

The English authorities had very naturally refused to concede to the King of France the nomination of future Bishops of Quebec; but the Episcopate was recognized, and the Dean and Chapter were, by sound legal authority, held to be beyond the power of the English throne to suppress them. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec and of the Vicars-

[1] "The Justice and Policy of the late Act of Parliament for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec," etc. London, 1774, pp. 30–31.

[2] Consult as to the effect of the Treaty of Paris in Canada, "The Treaty of Paris, 1763, and the Catholics in American Colonies," "American Catholic Quarterly," x., p. 240.

Capitular during the vacancy of the see over our northwest territory, was thus fully recognized by England. Priests were maintained in their parochial and other rights, the religious orders and communities retained their property, and the people were free to enjoy the ministrations of their religion.

The first step in regard to the Catholics of the West was a proclamation issued at New York by General Thomas Gage, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces in America:

"Whereas, by the Peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his Majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

"That his Majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois, the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his Majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king, may retire in full safety and freedom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana; although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretence whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his Majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king.

"That they are commanded by these presents to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his Majesty, in presence of Sieur Stirling, Captain of the Highland Regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding by a wise and prudent demeanor, all cause of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his Majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his Majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an enemy into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at headquarters, New York—signed with our hand—sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By his Excellency, G. Maturin."[1]

It was apparently intended to include in the term Illinois country all the territory northwest of the Ohio. The fall of Canada had created a kind of panic in this part, and many supposing that France would retain Louisiana crossed the

[1] Brown, "The History of Illinois," New York, 1844, pp. 212-13.

Mississippi River. The administrative Council at New Orleans seized the Jesuit Fathers in the portion subject to Louisiana, and ordered the destruction of their churches, after selling all the personal property at their missions. The Rev. Forget Duverger, assuming an authority he did not possess, pretended to give a title for the property of the Seminary of Quebec and left the country. No priests were left anywhere in the northwest except Father Simplicius Bocquet, Recollect Father, at Detroit, which had capitulated to the English under Major Rogers, November 29, 1760; the Jesuit Father du Jaunay, at Arbre Croche, Father Lefranc, at Mackinac, and the Recollect Father, Luke Collet, at Fort Chartres.[1]

The French in the West submitted, but the Indians could not brook the defeat. Pontiac, the Ottawa chief, organized an immense conspiracy, embracing tribes from Lake Superior to Georgia. A simultaneous attack was made on all the English frontier posts, and settlers were butchered and houses given to the flames. Fort Sandusky, Fort St. Joseph, Fort Michilimackinac, Fort Ouiatenon, Fort Miami and Fort Presquile, Fort Le Boeuf and Fort Venango, were all taken. In some cases not a soul escaped to tell the tale of the surprise or defence. In others a few survivors remained as prisoners in the hands of the excited red men.

The English authorities, as we have seen, in speaking of the Articles of Capitulation, had peremptorily refused to permit the Jesuits to maintain their Indian missions, full of the ignorant prejudice which prevailed against the devoted mem-

[1] Fort Michilimackinac was occupied by the English September 28, 1761, and Green Bay in October, but Fort Chartres, in Illinois, did not lower the French flag till 1765. See Farmer, "History of Detroit and Michigan," Detroit, 1884, p. 234; Kelton, "Annals of Fort Mackinac," 1884, pp. 86–7.

bers of the Society.[1] Their justification was now complete. The two Jesuits, submitting to the designs of Providence, had labored to reconcile the Indians to the change of flag. The Ottawa Indians at Arbre Croche, Father du Jaunay's mission, were less hostile to the English than the other tribes and bands: "for the great influence of the priest du Jaunay seems always to have been exerted on the side of peace and friendship." When the Chippewas came to Arbre Croche with the survivors of Michilimackinac, the Ottawas took them from their captors, where they received kindly treatment by the missionary's influence exerted in their favor. Father du Jaunay did more; he set out through the country, swarming with hostile Indians, to bear to Major Gladwin at Detroit a letter from Captain Etherington, telling of the loss of his post and of his condition. The priest fulfilled his dangerous errand, passing through Pontiac's camp, and two days afterward was on his way back to the mission, where his presence was so essential.[2]

At Detroit Father Simplicius continued his parochial functions under the new government, "to which," he says in an entry in his Register, "it has pleased Divine Providence to subject us." He seems, too, to have acted in concert with Major Gladwin in suppressing public scandals.[3] Rogation day in May, 1763, was celebrated by him in the usual manner; the procession issued forth from the fort, although

[1] "Some of the American governments, as the newspapers inform us, have already ordered all their priests to be put to death, who are found amongst the Indian nations." "Considerations on the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics in England, and the newly-acquired Colonies in America," London, 1764, pp. 59–60.

[2] Parkman, "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," Boston, 1866, pp. 242, 308–10, 596–7.

[3] "Registre de St. Anne du Détroit," December 11, 1763.

Pontiac and his warriors were already encamped near the town. Father Potier at Sandwich exerted all his authority to keep the Hurons from joining Pontiac, and those who still retained the faith hearkened to his persuasions and menaces.

During the siege of Detroit the church-bell at St. Anne's was silent for a time, but the Commandant directed the Catholics to adhere to their old customs, and once more the Angelus sounded over the waters.[1]

At last in his isolation tidings reached Bocquet that Quebec had once more a Bishop enthroned in the Cathedral of Laval.[2] "I presumed enough on the king's goodness to flatter myself that in his resolution to permit us the free exercise of our holy religion, he would allow us to have a Bishop *in partibus* with the title and authority of apostolic legate, and I regarded our lot as a happy one. But a titular Bishop of Quebec, with all the prerogatives and honors attached to his dignity and his title—but a French and European French bishop—but a bishop selected from the very clergy of Quebec—this, my Lord, in our actual position I do not understand and cannot weary exclaiming *O Altitudo!* But it is thus that God vouchsafes to visit his people, and to make us feel him, and exercise over us his greatest mercies, when He seemed farthest from us, and we seemed to have lost all hope."

The powers conferred on Father Simplicius by Bishop de Pontbriand were continued by Very Rev. Mr. Montgolfier, Vicar-General of the diocese during the vacancy of the see. Bishop Briand had such confidence in this faithful son of St. Francis that in the summer of 1768 he made him his Vicar-General, and Father Simplicius signs in that capacity on the

[1] Pontiac Manuscript in Farmer, p. 580.

[2] He arrived at Quebec June 28. "New York Gazette," July 31, 1766.

28th of June.[1] More fortunate than the other priests in the West who lived isolated from each other, he had near him Father Peter Potier, whom he styles a holy religious and after a time rector of the parish of Notre Dame du Sud.[2] Father Potier was frequently in Detroit. He was a master of the Huron language; he compiled a Huron grammar based on Chaumonot's and a work containing the Radicals and their derivatives to enable others to acquire the language, and was most diligent in copying, even in duplicate, manuscripts left by his predecessors. Many of his works, in a minute but clear hand, are preserved to this day.

Detroit with two zealous priests enjoyed with its surrounding settlements a great advantage in suffering no interruption in the divine offices or the administration of the sacraments. In a frontier settlement there were abundant occasions of sin, and the priest was called upon to entreat, exhort, and reprove. Yet at Detroit, even under the change from Catholic to Protestant rule, vice did not become frequent.

In 1766 a foundling appears in the Register, and the course adopted is worth notice. The entry is as follows:

"In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six the sixth of March was baptized Marie born that night, whose father and mother are unknown to us. The godfather was John Baptist Durant, the godmother Mary Angelique Rochelot, who declared that they could not sign. Which is attested.

"f. SIMPLICIUS BOCQUET,
"Recollect Missionary."

"In concert with the Sieur Legrand justice of the peace

[1] "Registre de St. Anne," July 26, 1764, October 2, 1774.

[2] Ib., October 29, 1770.

in this city, we have given the said Mary to the Sieur and Dame Bouron to be brought up, nourished, supported and instructed in all the duties of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, as their own child, and in compensation for their care, pains and expense the said Mary on her side shall be obliged to obey, serve, respect them, etc., in all proper duty as becomes a christian girl towards her father and mother and those who hold their place towards her, and this to the age of twenty years, according to the laws and usage of the colony. At Detroit this 7th March, 1766.

"f. SIMPLICIUS BOCQUET,

"Recollect Missionary."

In October, 1767, in compliance with the decision and positive orders of Bishop Briand, dated August 7th, Father Simplicius declared a marriage contracted in January to be null and void and the issue illegitimate: but the Bishop granting a dispensation to remove the disability of consanguinity the parties were remarried and the child declared legitimate.[1]

The parish under his control embraced both sides of the river, but he earnestly implored the Bishop to make the opposite shore a distinct parish under Father Potier, who could attend it as well as minister to the Huron Indians. An accident that befell him in Chaleurs Bay made him dread the water, and the crossing in a canoe was at times very dangerous. He had, in fact, given up most of the people there and their tithes to Father Potier. The parishioners, encouraged by the prospect of a parish priest to themselves, rebuilt the Huron church, which was falling in ruins. The Bishop adopted his suggestion and in a letter of October 21, 1767,

[1] Register. Letter of Father Simplicius dated October 21, 1767, citing Bishop's decision of August 7th.

Father Bocquet announces that he had placed Father Potier in possession of his new parish.

Most of the houses in Detroit were occupied by English traders, only ten being held by Catholic families in 1767, and Father Simplicius had to take to his own house the children to be prepared for their first communion, lodge, feed, and even clothe these little ones till he had instructed them, some being so ignorant that they could not even make the sign of the cross.

With rare occasions of intercourse with Vincennes or Kaskaskia, seeing the Indians uncontrolled sinking into vice and misery, Father Simplicius was full of foreboding.[1] The English commandants were always ready to interfere, and overwhelmed the priest with quotations from English laws, of which he, of course, knew nothing, but was kept in constant dread of drawing down on himself unwittingly prosecution from the new rulers of Canada. The dissolute in this way made the English commandant protect them in their licentious course.[2]

Previous to the conquest in 1755, the Bishop of Quebec had extended to Detroit a plenary indulgence to all who approached the sacraments during the days of the carnival, even when the Blessed Sacrament was not exposed. It had proved a great auxiliary to the missionary, who sought a renewal from Bishop Briand.[3]

When Father Lefranc retired from his Green Bay mission is apparently unknown, but the church plate, including the ostensorium presented to the church by Perrot, was taken to Michilimackinac and left in the hands of Father du Jaunay.

[1] Letter to Bishop, April 27, June 30, 1767.

[2] Letter, April 8, 1768, May 12, 1768.

[3] Letter, September 22, 1767, October 5, 1767.

That good priest in time took up his residence at Arbre Croche, and erected a church there on the banks of Lake Michigan. His flock were greatly attached to him, and long after pointed out the place of his favorite walk. In time he was recalled or determined to return to Canada. He sold the ground he had purchased, and left his Indian flock. They were so moved by this, insisting that they had given him no real cause of complaint, that on his departure they set fire to their church.[1]

When Father du Jaunay too was recalled, he took all the church plate, consisting of two chalices, two ciboriums, and two monstrances, and deposited them with Father Potier, at the Huron mission, near Detroit. The Perrot ostensorium was borrowed for a time, and used by Father Simplicius Bocquet, to be finally carried back to Green Bay, lost, and recovered in our time.[2]

Father Simplicius found that under the English sway many of his parishioners avoided paying their tithes, and though the English commandant would have aided him to enforce the payment, he looked rather to a letter from the Bishop.[3] The next year, 1770, he wrote: "I am in the greatest poverty in the world; all the townsfolk since the change of government have retired to the *cotes;* there are not more than six Catholic houses in the town," and two of these were occupied by families whose lives were no credit to the faith.

[1] Letter of Father Simplicius Bocquet, July 18, 1771. "Annales de la Propagation de la Foi," ii., p. 102.

[2] Father Simplicius seems to have bought it ultimately from F. Potier. Letters of Father Simplicius Bocquet to Bishop Briand, July 18, 1771, May 1, 1778. At this time the few Catholics at Michilimackinac claimed the plate from that post as belonging to their church, and not to the Society of Jesus.

[3] Letter May 12, 1769.

When an alarm of Indian attack came, the people gathered from the farms into Detroit for the sake of protection.

The Jubilee of that year he proposed to observe as he had done the last. He opened it with a solemn procession to a cross erected outside of the city; for five days he made the visits to the stations with the same solemnity; and during a fortnight he renewed them daily to one of the chapels of the church; he made an exhortation every morning and evening, followed by the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, and closed it on Sunday with a procession and the Te Deum.[1]

About this time the pastor induced his people to repair the church of St. Anne, but in June, 1771, the steeple was struck by lightning and greatly damaged. The aged Franciscan was beginning to yield to his infirmities, but though his Superior at Quebec urged him to return, he would not abandon his post, till the Bishop could send a priest to succeed him.[2] The libertines at Detroit were especially anxious at this time to compel him to withdraw, and molested him greatly; but he held firm and denounced vice unshrinkingly.[3] In January, 1774, we find on the Register the solemn excommunication of two persons living in adultery. The entry tells how they were "guilty for two years of adultery, all the more scandalous as it was public and obstinate, notwithstanding, that from time to time, we have spared neither charitable remonstrances, nor entreaties, nor threats; everything has been tried on our part to make them return to the true paths of justice and innocence, deaf to the voice of a God, as awful in His chastisements as He is good and encouraging to those who return to Him with all their hearts by penance, and implored His tender mercy, whereas we have given them to understand not only in private by our exhorta-

[1] Letter Oct. 2, 1770. [2] Letter July 18, 1771. [3] Letter Aug. 16, 1773.

tions and our charitable advice, but by three juridical summons with the intervals directed by the sacred canons, by a bailiff or usher, accompained by two witnesses, all of which might intimidate their hearts and move them, has served only to harden them, they have despised it all, and have drawn on themselves by their obstinacy the just indignation of our holy mother Church, formerly theirs also, but whom they have compelled to expel them from her bosom, and abandon them to all the depravity of their heart. In consequence, and in the just fear that members as corrupt as these, may infect others—In the name of Jesus Christ and the Church His Spouse, and the authority of the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Monseigneur Brilland, Bishop of Quebec, our illustrious prelate, this day, January 23d, in the present year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, we have denounced at our parochial mass during the Homily, the said —— and —— as excommunicated and cut off from the Church, deprived of its suffrages, and its sacraments, and delivered to the power of Satan. And by the same authority we forbid under pain of excommunication all persons to salute them, speak to them, or converse with them in any manner and in any place whatever, except in cases of charity and necessity laid down by law, until convinced of their fault they have publicly received absolution.

"f. SIMPLI. BOCQUET, M.R., curé et Vic.-Gen."

It is gratifying to find that his censures took effect, for the next entry records their repentance and submission, and the official absolution from the censures inflicted on them.[1]

In the autumn of 1772 Father Simplicius, now a man

[1] Registre de Sainte Anne du Detroit. There is a similar case in February, 1774, and another in October, 1774. Father Bocquet did not allow vice to go unchecked.

of seventy, was attacked with jaundice, followed by local troubles, and in the spring, while attending a sick call, he was so affected by the cold that he became insensible, but by medical care he was enabled to get through the laborious duties of Holy Week and Easter-time.[1]

The Sulpitian, Rev. John Dilhet, who was for a considerable time at Detroit some years after, pays tribute to the good effected by Father Simplicius. "He governed the parish with great zeal and judgment; he prevented abuses creeping in, such as honorary rights to seats in the church, holy water for royal officers, who claimed it; he had a chanter paid by the trustees, a school for the instruction of the children; he purchased a large bell, a silver gilt monstrance; suppressed a great many scandals, such as unlawful marriages, liquor-dealers who caused drunkenness among the Indians, public keeping of mistresses, seditious trustees revolting against his authority. He succeeded in suppressing these abuses and scandals by his firmness, his prudence, and a patience that nothing could disturb. His memory has remained in benediction at Detroit, where all who had seen him even in his old age, and when his mind had lost its vigor, never failed to proclaim his virtue and the esteem which the parish entertained for him and his good qualities."[2]

In July, 1775, he was ordered by Richard Berengé Lernoult, Commandant at Detroit under Jehu Hay, to proceed to the marriage of a couple; but as the girl, an orphan, had by the connivance of her uncle and aunt been taken from her proper guardian, her grandmother, Father Bocquet, though he officiated, added this note:

"Note that if in the preceding marriage we deferred to

[1] Letter May 1, 1778.

[2] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise ou Diocese des Etats Unis."

the decision of the Commandant, it was because the girl who lived under her aunt paillet (one of the worst women in the disposition of her mind whom I have known), wife of her uncle, dit des Buttes St. Martin, it was because the said uncle and aunt had themselves caused her to be carried off in spite of Dame Widow St. Martin, grandmother and guardian of the said Angelique Godet, and because under the English domination I could not refuse to marry them, and feared that the Commandant himself would marry them in English fashion, and that thus the scandal occasioned by my refusal would be followed by acts on the part of other unnatural children, who would adopt the same course of disobedience to their father and mother or other holding their place.

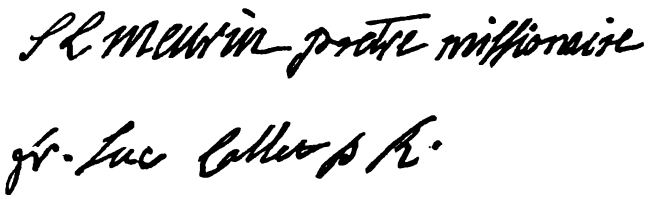
"SIMPLICIUS BOCQUET,
"Recollect Missionary Vic.-Genl."

This gives us a picture of the interference of these military lieutenant-governors in the West and their officials in affairs of the Church.

Yet if the good Recollect had difficulties he had consolations also, and bears testimony to the worth of Zachary Cicotte, long trustee of the church, Lieutenant and Aide-Major in the Militia, remarkable through his long life for his liberal charities, who died in August, 1775, after a painful illness, borne with the most perfect resignation.

After the Jesuit Fathers had been carried off by order of the Louisiana Council, and Very Rev. Mr. Forget Duverger withdrew, the Catholics in Indiana and Illinois were almost entirely deprived of religious succor. The only priests remaining were two Sons of St. Francis, Fathers Hippolyte and Luke Collet at Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres. The former had ministered there from May, 1759, and the latter from the month of May, in the year 1761. They attended the declining settle-

ment at the old French fort and its dependent chapels, the Visitation at St. Philippe and St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher. In his last entry, June 17, 1764, Father Hippolyte styles himself "Ordinary missionary of the said parish." With his withdrawal Father Luke was left alone, calling himself "parish priest" on the 5th of June, and on the 6th of August he wrote in his register, "being the only missionary in the country,"[1] but the next year death closed his ministry in the West. No priest could be expected



SIGNATURES ON FATHERS MEURIN AND COLLET.

from Canada, where the death of the bishop and the ruin of the country gave little hope that the distant missions could soon be supplied with ministers of religion. Father Meurin felt for their spiritual destitution. He applied to the shameless Council in Louisiana for permission to return to his old field of labor rather than be sent to France. It was a heroic resolution in a man already advanced in years. He had no means, and no provision was offered for his support. The property of the Society had been sold; that of the Quebec priests was in other hands. Yet no sooner had Father Meurin received the permission he solicited than he set out. His health during his twenty-one years' mission had never been good, yet he went fearlessly on, trusting in Divine Providence, and disregarding all the hardships before him,

[1] Register of St. Anne de Fort Chartres. I am indebted to O. W. Collet, Esq., of St. Louis, for his copy. Father Luke died Sept. 10, 1765.

provided he could once more minister to the French and Indians, whose poverty he was content to share. Touched by his zeal the Louisiana authorities promised to solicit from the Court an allowance of six hundred livres, equivalent to $120 a year,[1] but before he set out they assured him that Louisiana was no longer included in the diocese of Quebec, and insisted upon his promising in writing that he would not recognize any other ecclesiastical superior than the Superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans, who alone, they declared, had and was to possess jurisdiction in the province. Of this they were by the earliest opportunity to furnish him evidence. This stipulation Father Meurin signed, adding that if it pleased the Sovereign Pontiff to confer jurisdiction on the most miserable negro, he would be as submissive to him as to the most deserving of bishops. Thus pledged to correspond neither with Quebec nor Rome, the lone missionary returned to the desolated chapels of Illinois and Indiana.[2] His faculties were those verbally given him by Very Rev. Forget Duverger on his departure.

He made his toilsome way up the Mississippi, and the Register of Kaskaskia, opened by him in an old account-book which he managed to secure, attests on the 30th of September, 1764, a burial performed before his arrival on the 8th of that month.[3]

Father Meurin's care extended to the French on both sides of the Mississippi, and he soon became convinced that he had been imposed upon at New Orleans, for early in 1765 he records the church and parish as in the diocese of Quebec. Conscious how unable he was to fulfil the duty of pastor to

[1] "Bannissement des Jesuites de la Louisiane," Paris, 1865, p. 50.

[2] F. Sebastian L. Meurin to Mgr. Olivier Briand, Bishop of Quebec, March 23, 1767.

[3] "Registre de l'Eglise Paroissiale de l'Immaculée Conception de Notre Dame des Kaskaskias."

so many scattered Catholics, he appealed to Father Dagobert, the Capuchin Superior at New Orleans, and to the Fathers of his community, for priests to aid him. He wrote to the Jesuit Fathers in Philadelphia, who could give him only their sympathy. He wrote to the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, agent at Paris for Canada, but no relief came. The Recollect Father, Luke Collet, gladly welcomed the Jesuit priest, and we find him at Kaskaskia in June and July, 1765.

The British authorities even made exertions to obtain a priest for Illinois. An aide-de-camp of General Gage on the 24th of June, 1766, wrote to Father Harding, "requesting him to recommend a priest of his religion, if he knew of any well attached to His Majesty's person and government, to go to the Illinois, the king's new subjects in those parts having repeatedly applied to him for that purpose." [1]

Rev. Mr. Meurin's residence was at the wooden church of St. Genevieve, on the western side, then in "Le Grand Champ," three miles south of the present place of that name,[2] and his visits across the river were as frequent as possible; but they did not extend to Vincennes, where Stephen Phillibert gave private baptism to the children born in the post, and proclaimed the banns. "This Illinois country," wrote Father Meurin in 1767, "consists of only six villages, each of about fifty to sixty fires, not including a considerable number of slaves. These villages, on account of their distance and situation, would each require a priest, especially in this English part. The parish of the Immaculate Conception at the Kaskaskias, that of St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher (which is only a succursal of St. Anne at Fort Chartres, now

[1] Guy Carleton to the Earl of Hillsborough, July 17, 1769.

[2] Rozier, "An Address. 150th Celebration of the Founding of Sainte Genevieve," St. Louis, 1885, p. 10.

abandoned by the inhabitants), and the parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias or Tamaroas, and the Indians. It is twenty-five leagues from the first village to the last. On the French or Spanish side beyond the river are situated the village of St. Genevieve, title of St. Joachim, on which depend la Saline and the mines, and thirty leagues higher up the new village of St. Louis, which is made up of the remnants of St. Philip and Fort Chartres. These two villages are as large as the former in inhabitants or in red or black slaves. Saint Joachim or St. Genevieve is my residence, as it was stipulated in the conditions for my return to this country. From it I come every spring and visit the other villages for Eastertide. I return again in the autumn and whenever I am summoned on sick calls. This is all my infirmities and my means enable me to do, and this displeases and prejudices the people at St. Genevieve, who alone maintain and support me, and they complain of it. In this state the people, and especially the children and slaves, lack sufficient instruction, and deprived of a pastor's vigilance, they are insensibly losing piety, and giving themselves up to vice.

"There are still many families here, in which religion prevails, and who justly fear that it will die out with them. They join me in beseeching you to take compassion on their children, and to send them at least two or three priests, if your Lordship cannot send four or five, who would be necessary, one of them with the title of Vicar-General of your Lordship.

"I endeavor to keep up the use of the public offices and prayers in my absence, to aid them to sanctify Sundays and holydays. There are many already who no longer come to church, or come only to show disrespect. Some, indocile or insolent, say openly enough that I have no authority, that I am not their pastor, that I have no right to give them advice,

and that they are not obliged to listen to me. They would not have dared to speak so while Messrs. Sterling and Farmer were commandants. Under the rule of these two, no one dared commit the least disrespect.

"For the last year St. Anne's church has been without roof or doors, &c.

"The post of Vincennes on the Wabash among the Miami-Pinghichias, is as large as our best villages here, and needs a missionary even more. Disorders have always prevailed there: but have increased in the last three years. Some come here to be married or to perform their Easter duty. The majority cannot or will not. The guardian of the Church publishes the banns for three Sundays. He gives certificates to those who are willing to come here, whom I publish myself before marrying them. Those who are unwilling to come here, declare their mutual consent aloud in the Church. Can such a marriage be allowed?"[1]

The keeper of the church at Vincennes, was Stephen Phillibert dit Orleans, who gave private baptism to newborn children, and kept a register of these baptisms and of burials.[2]

Notwithstanding the articles of Capitulation and the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, the English government was not disposed to grant the promised toleration of the true faith. The instructions to the governors breathed extreme hostility to the Church. Bishop de Pontbriand died during the war; his Cathedral was in ashes. The Rev. Mr. Montgolfier was elected by the Chapter to be presented to the Pope as the next Bishop, but on proceeding to England, was not permitted to cross over to the Continent to receive his bulls and be

[1] Letter to Bishop Briand.

[2] Phillibert's entries extend from January 11, 1764, to 1769.

consecrated Bishop of Quebec. The Rev. Olivier Briand was then elected on the 11th of September, 1764; but though he went to England, he could not obtain the sanction of the English government for a visit to France in order to obtain consecration. At last, after a delay of more than a year, it was intimated to him indirectly that if he went to France and was consecrated, no offence would be taken. Acting on this hint, Mgr. Briand proceeded to the Continent: the Sovereign Pontiff approving the choice of the Chapter of Quebec, issued his bulls on the 21st of January, 1766, making him Bishop of Quebec. He lost no time in obtaining consecration, and on the 28th of June, reached his episcopal city, whence he issued a pastoral letter to his flock.

The tidings of the kidnapping of the Jesuit Fathers in the Illinois country, and of the conduct of Rev. Mr. Forget in forsaking his mission, had reached the Bishop in France, and had filled him with anxiety as to this unexpected spiritual destitution of his children on the remote frontier.

When he reached Canada, however, Father du Jaunay, who had descended to the St. Lawrence, cheered the Bishop by the intelligence that Father Meurin had so courageously returned to the Illinois country. It took a great load off his mind. In June, 1767, he wrote: "I cannot sufficiently express the joy I felt on learning from Father du Jaunay that one Jesuit remained in the unfortunate Illinois and Mississippi country. Since Providence without regard to my unworthiness has laid upon me the heavy and fearful burden of the Quebec bishopric, I have always been in a mortal anxiety as to the lot of the poor Christians of your districts." "Yes, your presence in those places fills me with consolation; for I hope that you will kindly bestow your care on those forsaken people. I bless the Almighty a thousand times for having inspired the English with goodness and

consideration for you, and authorizing your ministry." "I send you very ample letters of Vicar-General. You will use them wherever you may be in that extensive part of my diocese, the limits of which are immense, and which I myself do not know. It is at least sure that they extend to all the territories which the French possessed in North America."[1]

With this letter the Bishop sent a pastoral on the Jubilee to enable the Catholics on the Mississippi to gain it.

As soon as the joyful news reached the solitary Jesuit of the arrival of a bishop on the banks of the Mississippi, he appealed to Mgr. Briand to send priests. In a second letter he wrote: "I am only sixty-one years old; but I am exhausted, broken down by twenty-five years' mission work in this country, and of these nearly twenty years of malady and disease show me the gates of death."[2] "I am incapable of long application or of bodily fatigue. I cannot therefore supply the spiritual necessities of this country, where the stoutest man could not long suffice, especially as the country is intersected by a very rapid and dangerous river. It would need four priests. If you can give only one, he should be appointed for Kaokia."

The good priest wrote thus at this very point Cahokia, where he had been for three days, but was compelled to leave three-fourths of the work there undone and return to Saint Genevieve to attend a man dangerously sick.

Bishop Briand knew full well the value of this devoted priest. He sent a pastoral letter to the people of Kaskaskia, who had written asking for a priest, and he wished the letter read to all the French congregations. His letter to Father

[1] Bishop Briand to F. Meurin, June, 1767.

[2] Letter from Cahokia, May 9, 1767.

Meurin, August 7, 1767, enclosed his commission as Vicar-General, and cheered him by the promise that two priests should be sent to the Illinois country in the spring.[1]

This mark of confidence on the part of the Bishop of Quebec, placed the missionary in a difficult position. Although the powers of Vicar-General extended to New Orleans, he knew well that they would be regarded as a violation of his agreement to recognize no superior but the head of the Capuchins in Louisiana, although they had never according to their promise exhibited the authority they claimed to possess.

Father Meurin did not publish his letters of Vicar-General, but the fact became known, and it was told in New Orleans. Rocheblave, Commandant, asked Father Meurin by what authority he announced a Jubilee, and on whom he depended. When the missionary replied that it was by the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, whose Vicar-General he was, de Rocheblave declared: "I know no English bishop here, and in a post where I command, I wish no ecclesiastical jurisdiction recognized except that of the Archbishop of St. Domingo."[2] A decree was at once made proscribing Father Meurin, and orders were issued for his arrest as a State criminal for recognizing a jurisdiction not admitted by Spain. A friend hastened to warn him of his danger, and Father Meurin left Saint Genevieve, crossing the Mississippi to English territory. There he at once took the oath of fidelity as a resident of the Illinois country before the conquest, and was safe from Spanish prosecution.

His ministry could after that be exercised only in Illinois.

[1] Bishop Briand to Father Meurin, August 7, 1767; Letters making him Vicar-General for the Illinois, Tamarois, and New Orleans, April 28, 1769. "Archives de l'Archevêché de Quebec," C. 235.

[2] Letter of F. Simplicius Bocquet to Bishop Briand, May 12, 1768.

There he found much to do. He proclaimed the Jubilee, and many profited by the occasion to fulfil duties long neglected. At Cahokia all communicants except two received holy communion.

The labors of the missionary were strengthened by this pastoral addressed especially to his flock:

"To the Inhabitants of Kaskaskia:

"August 7, 1767.

"It is about two months, our dear children, that I wrote to the Reverend Father Meurin to confide to him my powers of Vicar-General. I write to him again to confirm them to him anew. My intention is that you should obey him as myself. I expect to send you next spring one or two missionaries to aid him to root out among you the vices which I know prevail there, for I have been informed that the spirit of piety is greatly diminishing among you. When Father Meurin takes the trouble to visit you, many do not come to the church, or come only to show a want of respect; there are even some indocile persons, who in some of the parishes which he attends, refuse to recognize him as pastor, say that he has no right to admonish them, and that they are not obliged to hear him; others have the temerity to marry without having their marriage blessed by the priest. I write to Father Meurin, in order that he may put a stop to all these disorders, or rather, my dear children, it is you yourselves, whom I address with confidence; it is to those among you who are most Christian, (for I still learn with consolation that there are families among you in which religion shines with lustre,) it is they, I say, whom I wish to remind that Jesus Christ has confided to each one of us the care of our neighbor. Strive then to edify each other and lead each other to virtue. You know well that the holy Catholic relig-

ion in which you have had the happiness of being born, will be maintained hereafter among you, only so far as you show affection for it, and as you observe its regulations with zeal and as it were of yourselves. I cannot, as was formerly done, exert a holy violence against transgressors, by calling on the civil power to compel them to return to their duty. It depends then on yourselves, my dear children, to maintain yourselves in the practice of good and to show by your respect for my Vicar-General, and by your docility in practising the counsels he gives you that you are animated not by fear of temporal penalties, but by the love of your religion, and a desire for your salvation. Moreover I warn you that if you despise this advice which I give you, as your father, I will hereafter pay no attention to your petitions and that I shall regard you as members of my diocese who no longer deserve my attention. For know that I make a great effort in promising to send you priests; I see their number daily diminishing in my diocese, and I have but feeble resources to supply them. From every side they call upon me for priests, and I cannot give them. I do not know by what secret movement of God's grace I have felt impelled to prefer you to many others. The gain of your souls and the sad condition to which you have long been reduced has touched me, and you come up before my mind more vividly even than if you were before my eyes.

"✠ JOHN OLIVIER, Bishop of Quebec." [1]

This pastoral of Bishop Briand, read to all the congregations, filled the good with consolation, as they felt that the head of the diocese had not forgotten them and their spiritual wants. Many who had begun to think themselves utterly

[1] Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec.

abandoned resumed courage, and re-entered the way of salvation.

In this better state of feeling Father Meurin endeavored to recover the property of the church. Kaskaskia chapel and the cemetery at Cahokia, after the cession of the country to England, had been sold by an official from New Orleans to John Baptist Beauvais, who agreed to demolish the chapel and not to cultivate the ground. The sale was illegal; and Beauvais leased the chapel for a warehouse and the cemetery for a garden. The altar, windows, as well as many of the articles used in divine worship, were used in the houses of the place.

In endeavoring to secure the property of the Seminary of Quebec at Cahokia he was compelled to appeal to Forbes, the Commandant, but that officer would not aid him, and even forbade him to assume the title of Vicar-General.

The people generally did not recognize him as their parish priest, and although he had been attending them for four years, refused to pay him any tithes: but one of the English Commandants extorted six dollars for every marriage. Corpus Christi, which had in French days been celebrated with pomp, the militia taking part in the procession, was now celebrated within the church, as the Commandants would not allow the militia to appear.

The chapel at Fort Chartres was menaced by the river, and Father Meurin, with pious care, removed to Prairie du Rocher the remains of Rev. Mr. Gagnon, and of the Recollect Father, Luke Collet.[1]

Bishop Briand directed Father Meurin to insist on the restitution of all church goods under pain of excommunication. As to the pretended sales of church lands by those destitute

[1] Father Seb. L. Meurin to Bishop Briand, June, 1767.

of authority to give a valid title, he decided that the people themselves were to take the matter in hand, and repay the purchasers their outlay, if they bought in ignorance and in good faith. In regard to tithes the Bishop was peremptory. "No tithes, no sacraments. It is an offering made to God, which the Church assigns to the support of the missionaries; and even if there were scarcely any missionaries, it must be paid. Except in case of poverty, you must be firm, and do not fear; provided prudence and charity direct you, as I am confident they will. Religion is free."[1]

The first priest sent to assist Father Meurin was the Rev.



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. PETER GIBAULT.

Peter Gibault, who had been educated at the Seminary of Quebec, on the last remnant of the Cahokia mission property, an annual payment of 333 livres.[2] He was ordained on the feast of St. Joseph, in the year 1768, and set out at once for the Illinois country, where he was to play a conspicuous part. He went with the full consent of the English authorities and

[1] Bishop Briand to Father S. L. Meurin, April 26, 1769.

[2] A "rente" on the Hotel de Ville. In 1768 the Seminary transferred all its rights in the Tamarois property to Bishop Briand and the Fabrique of the parish of the Holy Family at Cahokia; but the English commanders in Illinois would not allow Rev. Mr. Meurin or Gibault to occupy the Seminary estate, although the purchasers set up no claim. Cardinal Taschereau, "Histoire du Séminaire de Québec," inédite. Rev. P. Gibault to Bishop Briand, July 28, 1768, 177*a*.

by General Gage's own desire.[1] His journey was delayed by constant rains; on reaching Michilimackinac, the first of the posts within the district assigned to him, he began to hear confessions, remaining till late every night in order to accommodate all, for many of the voyageurs had not seen a priest for three years and some not even for ten. Rev. Mr. Gibault spent a week at the post to effect all the good possible, baptizing the children, and blessing one marriage.[2]

Some of the Indians whom Father Du Jaunay had attended also came, and Rev. Mr. Gibault confessed all who knew French enough to express themselves. These good Indians still mourned the loss of their missionary, as much as they did the day he left them.

It was apparently intended that Rev. Mr. Gibault should take up his residence at Cahokia, so as to revive the old Tamarois mission; but that settlement had dwindled away; the fine property, orchards, house, mills, and barns erected by the Seminary priests, were crumbling to ruin; the church was little better.[3] Kaskaskia was the important place, and the inhabitants generally wished him to make it his residence. The disinterested Father Meurin, to leave to the new missionary the more populous posts and best means of support, withdrew to Cahokia, spending part of his time at Prairie du Rocher, where the twenty settlers offered to build him a house, and supply all his needs. In fact they gave him a

[1] Peter Gibault, son of Peter Gibault and Mary St. Jean, was born at Montreal, April 7, 1737. Tanguay, "Repertoire," p. 124; Mallet, "Very Rev. Pierre Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the West," in "Washington Catholic," September 30, 1882.

[2] Rev. P. Gibault to Bishop Briand, July 28, 1768; "Registre de Michilimackinac," July 23, 1768.

[3] Rev. P. Gibault to Bp. Briand, February 15, 1769. "Registre de l'Eglise Paroissiale de l'Immaculée Conception de Notre Dame des Kaskaskias."

horse and calèche, as well as a servant. The people of Kaskaskia, influenced by the dominant party in Louisiana, were hostile to Father Meurin as a Jesuit, and many would not recognize him at all; indeed not ten men had been to communion in four years. Rev. Mr. Gibault, accordingly, took up his residence at Kaskaskia, where he was well received by the British Commandant, and on the 8th of September, 1768, he records a baptism in the "Register of the Immaculate Conception," styling himself "parish priest of Kaskaskia." He also visited Saint Genevieve, which Father Meurin could enter only by stealth at night; but that veteran visited Fort Chartres and St. Philippe.

The young Canadian priest entered on his duties with zeal and energy, but was soon prostrated by the Western fever, violent at first, then slow and enervating, but he rallied, and went on bravely with the work before him, the magnitude of which became daily more appalling. At Kaskaskia by having prayers every night in the church, and by catechetical instructions four times every week, he revived faith and devotion. He brought nearly all to their Easter duty in 1769, and a better spirit prevailed, the tithes being promptly paid.[1] Besides Kaskaskia there were other villages and hamlets; it was only by constant travel that he was able to reach the scattered Catholics, who had long been deprived of the services of a priest. Besides the inhabitants of French origin and the Indians of the former missions, he found Catholics in the 18th (Royal Irish) regiment, which was stationed at Kaskaskia, the commandant giving the men every facility to attend to their religion.[2]

[1] Rev. P. Gibault to Bp. Briand, February 15, 1769.

[2] Rev. P. Gibault to Bp. Briand, June 15, 1769, "Pennsylvania Packet," October 5, 1772.

The next year Rev. Mr. Gibault blessed the little wooden chapel which had been erected at Paincourt, our modern St. Louis.[1]

Vincennes on the Wabash, although a place of some eighty or ninety families, had not seen a priest since Father Devernai was carried off in 1763; as a natural consequence of this condition, vice and ignorance were becoming dominant; yet the people earnestly solicited a priest. There were two clusters of Catholics at St. Joseph's River, and some at Peoria, Ouiatenon, and other points.[2]

Bishop Briand encouraged these isolated priests, and gave them wise and temperate counsels for their conduct in correcting evils that had grown up, while the people were left without priest or sacrifice.[3] Evidently at the instance of Father Meurin and to give that missionary greater authority, the Bishop of Quebec had made the Rev. Mr. Gibault his Vicar-General. That priest succeeded in inducing the people to resume the payment of tithes, which though only as in Canada one-twenty-sixth of the produce, not one-tenth, amounted in 1769 to two or three hundred bushels of wheat, and five or six hundred of Indian corn.

In the winter of 1769–70, Very Rev. Mr. Gibault set out for Vincennes, although hostile Indians waylaid the roads, killing and scalping many. Already he could report that twenty-two of his people had fallen victims to the savage foe since he reached the Illinois country. The frontier priest always, in these days of peril, carried a gun and two pistols.

[1] Doherty, "Address on the Centenary of the Cathedral Church of St. Louis," St. Louis, 1876, p. 6.

[2] Father S. L. Meurin to Bp. Briand, June 14, 1769. At Ouiatenon, there were 14 French families, and 9 or 10 at the junction of the St. Joseph's and Mary's. Rev. Mr. Gibault replied to the Catholics at Vincennes, March 27, 1769.

[3] Bishop Briand to Father Meurin, March 22, 1770.

He reached Vincennes safely, and after deploring the vices and disorders that prevailed, tells of his touching reception. "However on my arrival, all crowded down to the banks of the River Wabash to receive me; some fell on their knees, unable to speak; others could speak only in sobs; some cried out: 'Father, save us, we are almost in hell'; others said: 'God has not then yet abandoned us, for He has sent you to us to make us do penance for our sins.' 'Oh, sir, why did you not come a month sooner, my poor wife, my dear father, my dear mother, my poor child would not have died without the sacraments.'"[1] Father Meurin attests the good which his younger associate accomplished and joined him in urging the Bishop to send a resident priest to the Wabash.[2]

Very Rev. Mr. Gibault spent two months at Vincennes, laboring earnestly to revive religion in the people, and found a Presbyterian family settled there, who asked to be instructed and received into the true fold. Animated by his zeal, the people began to rebuild the church, which he made a very neat wooden structure of considerable height. The priest's house was a large one with a fine orchard, a garden and farming lands attached. He wished to make it comfortable for the expected priest. The Catholics in the district were estimated at seven or eight hundred, eighty being farmers cultivating the soil.[3]

Having reanimated the faith at Vincennes, the active

[1] Letters of Vicar-General for the Illinois and Tamarois, May 8, 1768. "Archevêché de Quebec," C. 249. Very Rev. P. Gibault to Bp. Briand, June 15, 1769. In this letter he notes that Pontiac had been killed by a Peoria at Cahokia, two months before.

[2] Same to same, June 15, 1770.

[3] Very Rev. Mr. Gibault to Bp. Briand, June 15, 1770. "Registre de Vincennes."

priest set out for Kaskaskia, escorted by a guard of twenty men. When he got back to his residence he found the Spaniards in possession of the western shore of the Mississippi, but that they had come unattended by a priest. He therefore continued his missionary visits to St. Genevieve and St. Louis, and in 1770 proposed to the Bishop to extend his labors to Peoria, St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, the Miamis, and Weas. But the failing health and memory of Father Meurin made it impossible to leave him alone to attend the Illinois missions, and on the withdrawal of the English troops the acts of Indian violence became fearfully frequent. Thrice did Rev. Mr. Gibault fall into their hands, escaping with life only on his promising not to reveal their presence in the neighborhood. Amid all these trials and labors he sank into discouragement, and implored the Bishop to send him to some other mission, or at least to allow him to go and make a retreat where he might recover a true ecclesiastical spirit.

At last in 1772 he was able to announce that the Capuchin Father Valentine had reached St. Louis as its parish priest, and the next year Father Hilary of the same order took up his residence at old Saint Genevieve. These priests were sent by Father Dagobert, the Superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans, who acted in utter disregard of the Bishop of Quebec.[1]

In 1774 Father Meurin received from New Orleans the news that a brief of Clement XIV. had been published extinguishing the Society of Jesus. He had for years been without a provincial or local superior; he now threw himself on the charity of Bishop Briand. "Free, I would beseech and

[1] Doherty, "Address," p. 6; Rozier, "Address," p. 11. Very Rev. Mr. Gibault to Bishop Briand, June 20, 1772. The Catholics in English Illinois at this time asked the Bishop to retrench some of the holidays, Monday and Tuesday after Easter and Pentecost. Ib.

beg your charitable goodness to be a father to me, and admit absolutely among the number of your clergy, instead of an auxiliary as I have been since February 1, 1742. I should deem myself happy, if, in the little of life left me, I could repair the cowardice and negligence of which I have been guilty in the space of thirty-three years. If you will adopt me, I am sure you will pardon me and ask mercy for me."

In the whole Mississippi Valley the Brief of the Suppression affected only this one lone Jesuit, laboring manfully to keep religion alive in the Western wilds.

In 1775 Rev. Mr. Gibault visited Canada. Then returning to his laborious post, he reached Michilimackinac in September; but waited in vain till November for any opportunity of proceeding further. As he could not winter there or reach the Illinois country, he returned at great risk to Detroit, steering the canoe which was paddled by a man and boy who had never before made the trip. In constant peril from the ice and with great suffering, he at last arrived at Detroit. "The suffering I have undergone between Michilimackinac and this place," he wrote, "has so deadened my faculties that I only half feel my chagrin at being unable to proceed to the Illinois. I shall do my best not to be useless at Detroit, and to relieve the two venerable old priests who attend it." [1]

When it was ascertained that Canada would be permitted to retain its clergy and religious institutions, many Acadians and persons who had emigrated to France embarked for that province.[2] This recalled some who, under the first impulse, had crossed to the west bank of the Mississippi, and prevented the total removal of the population.

[1] Letter to Bishop Briand, December 4, 1775.

[2] "New York Journal," October 23, 1766; "New York Mercury," February 2, 1767.

CHAPTER III.

THE QUEBEC ACT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

After the Conquest of Canada, the King of England by proclamation established the four governments or provinces, Canada, East and West Florida, and Grenada.

For some unexplained reason, perhaps through mere ignorance, the limits given to Canada were not those of the French province of that name, which included Northern Ohio and Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin: Lower Indiana, including Vincennes and most of Illinois, having been subject to Louisiana, as we have seen. England, however, took them as part of Canada, yet the southern line of the new English government of Canada, as fixed by the royal proclamation of 1763, was a line from Lake Nipissing to Lake Champlain.

Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia all laid claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio under their charters, but the English government did not for a moment recognize the shadowy claims of the seaboard colonies to territory which their people had never been able to reach, much less to occupy, and with which, even at this time, there was no direct communication or trade. The people in the unorganized territory were governed from New York by the British Commander-in-Chief, through officers appointed by him. The people had neither French nor English law, but were at the caprice of petty military tyrants.[1] A pamphlet

[1] "Detroit before 1775 was not governed by any system whatever, and

emanating from the French in Illinois in 1772, while stating that they had hitherto derived little benefit from their dependence on the English king, expresses the belief that had government fully understood the position of affairs "they would, doubtless, before this time have granted us a civil government, by means of which we should not have been subjected to the impositions and oppressions of our past tyrants" "and we have no doubt that the enjoyment of our religious rights will soon be confirmed to us and the administration of civil government established among us."

It recognized the services of the missionaries, to whom indeed civil order was mainly due. "We have had a long experience of the exemplary piety and virtue of our worthy Fathers Meurin and Gibault," it says, while urging the people to establish a school and pay a schoolmaster in each village.[1] That any forms of civilized life prevailed was due entirely to the few priests and their influence. Lieut.-Gen. Gage, by a proclamation issued April 8, 1772, ordered "all those who have established themselves upon the Ouabache, whether at St. Vincent's or elsewhere, to quit those countries instantly and without delay, and to retire, at their choice, into some one of the colonies of his Majesty." The people of Vincennes, who were thus threatened with wholesale eviction, sent to General Gage a protest claiming, with some exaggeration indeed, that they had been settled there for seventy years, and that they held their lands under grants made by the order and under the protection of his most Christian

the commanding general and his subordinates could do as they chose." Campbell, "Outline of the Political History of Michigan," Detroit, 1876, p. 134.

[1] "Invitation Sérieuse aux Habitants des Illinois," signed "Un Habitant des Kaskaskia," printed apparently in 1772, pp. 13, 15.

majesty. Gage, however, insisted on a definite statement of each separate grant.[1]

It is easy to conceive the alarm which this conduct spread through the Northwest territory, where the Catholic settlers saw no future before them but a repetition of the fate that had overtaken their unfortunate fellow-countrymen and fellow-Catholics in Acadia.

But in England a kindlier feeling toward the Canadians began to prevail, and it was regarded as a necessity to allow them for a time at least to live under their own French laws, and enjoy their religion unmolested, leaving the introduction of English laws and systems to be the gradual work of time. With the same view it was deemed best, in compliance with the wishes of the people in Canada, to reannex the territory northwest of the Ohio to Canada, and allow all the French settlements to be under a uniform system. The people of Canada demanded the reannexation of that district as a right.[2]

This led to the introduction in 1774 of a law known as the Quebec Act. It passed the House of Lords without opposition, but in the lower chamber a long and earnest debate ensued, in which Edmund Burke, Barré, Fox, and Lord John Cavendish took part. The establishment or recognition of French law and of the Catholic religion was a terrible bugbear. That a Catholic priest should under the English flag openly discharge his sacred ministry and exact tithes from his people, was in those days to the English mind something

[1] Dillon, "The History of Indiana," Indianapolis, 1843, i., pp. 100–1.

[2] "They intreat your Majesty" "to restore to Canada the same limits which it had before, and to include the coasts of Labradore in the province of Quebec; and those parts of the upper country which have been taken from it, since it cannot maintain itself without its usual commerce." "Petition from the Inhabitants of Quebec to the King," in "The Justice and Policy," etc., London, 1774, p. 72.

appalling. Every national and religious prejudice was aroused. Lord North in one of his replies well observed: "Whatever the (King's) proclamation may have done, it certainly did not repeal the definitive treaty. The proclamation gave a free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, as far as British laws would permit. Great Britain, undoubtedly, would permit that exercise to the extent of this bill; it would permit likewise, that in the colonies of America, the Roman Catholic religion might have this provision. But what does this Act give? It gives the clergy the enjoyment of their accustomed dues and rights. They must have been there; they must have had their accustomed dues and rights before. The bill does not originate them; it gives no rights, it creates no dues. If they had them not before, this bill does not give them. Therefore, if any clergyman, under this bill, should claim his dues, he must show he had a right to them before."[1] Burke admitted this: "You have got a people professing the Roman Catholic religion, and in possession of a maintenance, legally appropriated to its clergy. Will you deprive them of that? Now that is not a question of establishment; the establishment was not made by you; it existed before the treaty; it took nothing from the treaty; no legislature has a right to take it away; no governor has a right to suspend it. This principle is confirmed by the usage of every civilized nation of Europe. In all our conquered colonies, the established religion was confirmed to them; by which I understand, that religion should receive the protection of the state in those colonies; and I should not consider that it had received such protection, if their clergy were not protected."[2]

[1] Sir Henry Cavendish, "Debates of the House of Commons in the year 1774, on the bill for the government of the province of Quebec," London, 1839, p. 63.

[2] Ib., p. 223.

The bill passed the Commons, June 13, 1774, by a vote of 56 to 20, and receiving the royal assent on the 22d, became law throughout England and America, to which it expressly applied.

Under it the French settlers were freed from the tyranny of military despots, their lands and churches were secured to them, except such as were held by religious orders and communities, and the question of tithes so long held in abeyance was settled, and the parish priest had a legal title to his tithes in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and by parity at Natchez and Mobile, at St. Augustine and Pensacola.

The proposal of the Quebec Act had excited great indignation among the fanatical portion of the Protestant population, and the city of London had sent into the House of Commons a violent and intolerant protest against its passage. The newspapers took up the cry, which was re-echoed by the journals then published in America.

The sections of this famous act which affect the history of the Church in this country, are those fixing the limit of the province of Quebec along the western line of Pennsylvania to the Ohio, and down that river to the Mississippi, and the following provision: "And, for the more perfect security and ease of the minds of the inhabitants of the said province, it is hereby declared, That his Majesty's subjects, professing the religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's supremacy, declared and established by an Act made in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, over all the dominions and countries which then did or thereafter should, belong to the imperial crown of this realm; and that the clergy of the said church may hold, receive, and enjoy their

accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion."

The only oath to be exacted of the Catholics in that province was in these words:

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies and attempts, which I shall know to be against him or any of them; and all this I do swear without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation; and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any power or person whomsoever to the contrary. So help me God."

By the terms of this "Act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America,"[1] the Catholic Church, in what is now Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, was declared free from the pains and penalties of the penal laws of England and her colonies: and the parish priests and others acting under the Bishop of Quebec were maintained in all the dues and rights which they enjoyed under the French rule.

This concession to the Catholics aroused bitter feelings in the colonies as well as in England. The newspapers of the day contain articles, songs, and squibs against the King and Parliament, and the Continental Congress in September, 1774, characterized the act as "in an extreme degree dan-

[1] The Quebec Act was published in full in the "Pennsylvania Packet," September 5, 1774.

gerous." [1] Articles in the journals represented the colonies as "surrounded on all sides by enemies. A Popish French government in our rear set up for the express purpose of destroying our liberties." [2] Another writer drew a terrible picture of what was to befall the land. "We may live to see our churches converted into masshouses and our lands plundered of tythes for the support of a Popish clergy. The Inquisition may erect her standard in Pennsylvania, and the city of Philadelphia may yet experience the carnage of St. Bartholomew's day." [3] The handful of Protestants in Canada, who had hoped to rule the Catholics with a rod of iron, showed their disgust in protests,[4] and by adorning the bust of George III. with a mitre, beads, and pectoral cross.[5]

The Quebec Act certainly became the law of the land, and the Catholics of the Northwest territory acquired rights under it which could not be disputed. It was, however, regarded by the old English colonies as the last of the wrongs done them. Among the resolutions adopted by the Continental Congress, October 14, 1774, was one enumerating acts of Parliament which were declared to be infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies; specifying "the act passed in the same session (12 Geo. III.) for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec." The Address issued by Congress on the 5th of September, 1774, "to the People of Great Britain," says: "We think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and

[1] "Pennsylvania Packet," September 19, 1774.

[2] Ib., September 26, 1774.

[3] Caractacus in "Pennsylvania Packet," October 31, 1774.

[4] Ib. November 14, 1774. Smith's "History of Canada," ii., pp. 68–9.

[5] Smith's "History of Canada," ii., p. 73.

impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe." "By another act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to administration so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves." Other passages, too, pictured the Roman Catholics as helping England to enslave America.

This address was from the pen of John Jay, in whose colony of New York a flag was run up with the legend, "No Popery." The "Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies," more moderate in tone, condemned the Quebec Act for extending the limits of that province to the northern and western boundaries of the old colonies, and establishing the Roman Catholic religion, instead of merely tolerating it, as stipulated by the treaty of peace.[1]

[1] "Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, 5th September, 1774," etc., New York, 1774, pp. 4, 9, 10, 17, 25–7. "An Englishman's Answer to the Address from the Delegates to the People of Great Britain," New York, 1775, says, p. 22: "I am still more astonished at what you tell us of the fruits of their religion."—"But if the actions of the different sects in religion are enquired into, we shall find, by turning over the sad historic page, that it was the —— sect (I forget what they call them, I mean the sect which is still most numerous in New England, and not the sect which they so much despise) that in the last century deluged our island in blood! that even shed the blood of the sovereign, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, superstition, hypocrisy, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the empire." See "The Quebec Act and the Church in Canada," "American Catholic Quarterly," 1885, p. 601. To make the act more odious in the old colonies, it was reported that the

But the people at large were not deluded by politicians and zealots who sought to trade on their religious prejudices. There is no trace of any hostility shown during this excitement to the Catholic settlers in Maryland or Pennsylvania. Events were marching rapidly, and the pretended fears of political leaders deceived few.

Catholics everywhere were in full sympathy with the patriotic movement. A Protestant minister might, like the Rev. Samuel Peters in Connecticut, draw down on himself the vengeance of impetuous whigs, but no one raised a doubt as to the fidelity of the priests in Maryland and Pennsylvania to the cause of America. As the struggle became imminent, priests like the Rev. John Carroll, who had been employed in Europe, hastened back to share their country's fortunes; and in the event, as we shall see, the French-speaking Catholics and their priest at the West secured that territory to the republic.

The growth of a better feeling toward Catholics after the close of the wars with France and Spain, is seen in the fact that Catholic books were for the first time printed, not anonymously as in England, but openly. Apparently the first book thus issued was a prayer-book, entitled "A Manual of Catholic Prayers. 'In the multitude of thy mercy, I will come into thy House; I will worship towards thy holy Temple in thy Fear.' Psalm v. 8. Philadelphia: Printed for the Subscribers, by Robert Bell, Bookseller, in Third Street, MDCCLXXIV."

At the same time Bell issued proposals for printing by subscription Bishop Challoner's "Catholic Christian Instructed." Subscriptions were received "by Robert Bell and also by

king was about to raise an army of 30,000 Canadian Catholics, in order to crush them. "New York Journal," November 8, 1774.

Arthur John O'Neill, Fourth Street; Patrick Hogan, Tallow Chandler and Soap Boiler, Pear Street; James Gallagher, Storekeeper, Front Street, Philadelphia; William Cullen, Storekeeper, Pottsgrove; Mark Wilcox, Paper Maker, Concord, Chester County; —— Welsh, Storekeeper in Baltimore-town, Maryland."

An advertisement in the "Annapolis Gazette," May 29, 1777, and "Pennsylvania Evening Post," December 28, 1778, also notices a prayer-book: "New Publications to be sold at Mr. William Gordon's in Cornhill St., Annapolis, ... 'A Manual of (Roman) Catholic Prayers, for the use of those (Roman Catholics) who ardently aspire after devotion (salvation),'" etc. The work referred to is probably not Bell's book, but "The Garden of the Soul; or, a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians who living in the world, aspire to Devotion. The Seventh Edition corrected. London printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted by Joseph Crukshank, in Market Street, between Second and Third Streets."

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH AND CATHOLICS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THE condition of the Church in the country east of the Mississippi in 1774 has been portrayed. The Catholic bodies were widely separated; in those of French and Spanish origin the royal aid was withdrawn, and the people were discouraged. The suppression of the Society of Jesus cut off all hope of further missionary supply from that order, and the prospect for the future was bleak enough, as no provision for the maintenance of a clergy and divine worship was made.

The Jesuits in Maryland and Pennsylvania formally accepted the Brief and became secular priests. The property of the order in Illinois, like that in Canada, was taken by the English government, which to this day holds the latter as a trust.[1] In Maryland the title to the property had not been held by the Jesuits as a body corporate, but by individual members, all British subjects, and had been transmitted from one to another by will or deed ever since the settlement of the country. On the suppression, Bishop Challoner sent the Brief to Maryland for the adhesion of the members in that and the adjoining province, but neither he nor the Sovereign Pontiff took any steps in regard to the property.

[1] The Illinois and other lands must have passed to the United States by the treaty of 1783 under the same trust, to apply them to the purposes for which they were given. "Memoire sur les Biens des Jésuites en Canada," Montreal, 1874, p. 96. If government sold the land, the proceeds belong to the Catholic Church, or justice is a mockery.

The outburst of bigotry in New York, excited by the Quebec Act and stimulated by narrow-minded fanatics like John Jay, caused the only serious trouble experienced by Catholics during this period. A number of Scotch Highlanders, chiefly Catholics from Glengarry, had, as already stated, settled near Johnson Hall, in the Mohawk Valley, to which they had been invited by Sir William Johnson. They were attended by the Rev. John McKenna, an Irish priest, educated at Louvain. Comparatively strangers in the country, many speaking English imperfectly, the immigrants knew little of the points on which the colonists based their complaints against the English government. They soon found themselves denounced as tories, papists, and friends of British tyranny by the fanatics near them. They were disarmed by General Schuyler, and before the spring of 1776 began to withdraw to Canada, by way of Oswegatchie, abandoning the homes they had created in the wilderness. Their sufferings were great, one party subsisting for ten days on their dogs and herbs they gathered as they went. Their priest, more obnoxious than his flock, withdrew with a company of 300, and took up his abode with the Jesuit Fathers at Montreal.

Thus did anti-Catholic bigotry deprive New York of industrious and thrifty settlers, and send to swell the ranks of the British army, men who longed to avenge the defeat at Culloden, men eager to draw their claymores against England.

One of these parties of Catholics flying from persecution, was attacked by Indians from St. Regis, and several were killed.[1]

[1] Allan McDonald to Congress, March 25, 1776, complaining of arrest near Johnstown, "American Archives," v., p. 415. Thomas Gummersall, "New York Colonial Documents," viii., p. 688; Ferland, "Vie de Mgr. Plessis," p. 50; English edition, p. 82. Rev. Mr. McKenna, when

The Rev. John McKenna was the first resident Catholic priest among the settlers in New York after the Jesuit Fathers in Dongan's time, nearly a century before.

The influence of the same spirit manifested itself also in Baltimore, where John Heffernan, a Catholic, had opened a school. We are told "that the laws against Roman Catholic teachers still existing, some persons actuated by worse motives broke up Mr. John Heffernan's school, and he also left the place."[1]

So, too, John Maguire and his wife, Margaret Tuite, who had resided in Delaware, were hunted out by over-zealous whigs, and their son Thomas, born at Philadelphia, May 9, 1776, became one of the most able and distinguished priests in Canada, holding many important positions in that province, and negotiating its affairs in England and Rome.[2] He was apparently the second Catholic priest of Pennsylvania birth. Yet Catholics were swelling the ranks of the army which the colonists raised in defence of the rights they claimed as British subjects, and as the British liberties handed down from their ancestors.[3]

When the petitions and remonstrances of the American

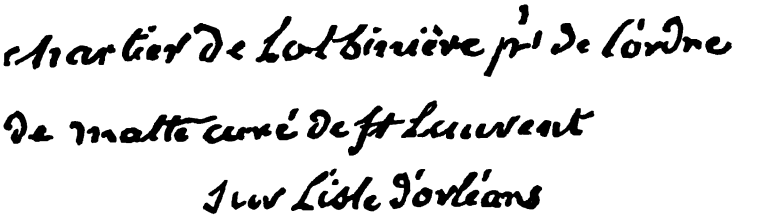
the Hessians arrived in Canada, finding that many were Catholics, went from company to company preaching and confessing in German, which he spoke fluently. Schlösser, "Briefwechsel," Thiel 4, Heft 23, p. 318. "N. Y. Revolutionary Papers," ii., p. 196. Tryon to Dartmouth, February 7, 1776. Capt. McDonald's letters, "N. Y. Historical Society," 1882, pp. 224, 275, 357. The result was that in 1778, Bishop Hay could declare to Sir John Dalrymple, "that nearly all the emigrants who had left the Highlands a few years before were now wearing his Majesty's uniform." Gordon, "Journal and Appendix," Glasgow, 1867, p. 144.

[1] Scharf, "The Chronicles of Baltimore," Baltimore, 1874, p. 136.

[2] Tanguay, "Repertoire Général du Clergé Canadian," Quebec, 1868, p. 151.

[3] "Pennsylvania Journal," January 24, 1776. McCurtin's Journal, in "Maryland Papers," Philadelphia, 1857, p. 11.

colonists failed, and the English government, adhering to its policy, increased its military force in Massachusetts, it was evident that force would be met by force. The English opened the war by the advance on Lexington, and soon after finding themselves encircled by troops in Boston, attempted in vain in the Battle of Bunker Hill to break through the investing army. The struggle once began, the other colonies were called upon to send troops; then the Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania, with many in other parts, shouldered their muskets. The advance into Canada found so many there ready to join the Americans against their old enemies that two regiments were formed, known as "Congress' Own,"



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. L. C. DE LOTBINIÈRE, CHAPLAIN OF CONGRESS' OWN.

one of them Livingston's, having a chaplain duly commissioned by the Continental Congress, the Rev. Francis Louis Chartier de Lotbinière of the Order of Malta, who served with the regiment.[1]

[1] "They have appointed a priest called Lotbinière to absolve the people: they give him a salary of 1,500 livres, and promise him a bishopric." "N. Y. Historical Collections," 1880, p. 221. The Rev. Mr. Lotbinière's commission bore date Jan. 26, 1776. Hamersly, "Army Register," Washington, 1881, p. 82. Tanguay, "Repertoire General," Quebec, 1868, p. 103. Bishop Briand, Appointment Oct. 2, 1770. The Canadian Corps was at Fishkill, November 12, 1776 "N. Y. Revolutionary Papers," i., p. 534. Hazen's Regiment was on the right of the American storming party at Yorktown. The Canadians who joined the American cause were excom-

All Canada would have been won but for the influence of John Jay's bigoted address to the People of Great Britain, in which the Canadians and their religion were assailed in the grossest terms. The change of sentiment caused by this ill-timed and unchristian address, led to the defeat of Montgomery and to the decline of the American cause in Canada. Something should now be said of the condition of the Church at this time.

In 1775 the Catholic mission lost one of its zealous members by death. This was the German priest, Rev. Mathias Sittensperger, known in Pennsylvania and Maryland by the name of Manners. He expired at Bohemia, on the 16th of June, attended by Rev. Mr. Mosley from Tuckahoe, of a dysentery which was epidemic on the Eastern Shore, and gave the two missionaries abundant occasions for the exercise of their zeal. The Rev. Mr. Mosley was urged by his family to return to England, but he saw the mission losing priests, and no clergymen coming to take their place. He would not desert the field in which he had so long labored. "I see that I am a very necessary Hand in my situation," he wrote, "and our Gentlemen here won't hear of my departure." So he stuck manfully to his post, his "Single Horse-Chair," carrying far and wide through the peninsula of the Eastern

municated by the Bishop of Quebec, and those who returned to Canada were denied the sacraments even on their death-bed, unless they openly recognized that they had committed sin by joining the Americans. Christian burial was as a consequence denied them, and they were buried by the roadside. De Gaspé, "Les Anciens Canadiens," 1877, pp. 183–4.

Another priest in Canada who sided with the Continental Congress, was the Sulpitian, Rev. Peter Huet de la Valinière, curé of Ste. Anne du Sud. He was sent out of Canada by the English authorities in 1779, and ordered to embark in the fleet which left Quebec October 25. He came to the United States, and his name will recur in our pages. Haldimand to Bishop of Quebec, October 14, 1779, in Brymner, "Report in Canadian Archives," Ottawa, 1887, p. 478.

Shore the benefits of religion.'[1] Meanwhile he was preparing to build a church-house on the plantation, and while the war was going on, bravely undertook it.

In 1775 the Rev. Bernard Diderick was assigned to the Baltimore mission, and the Catholics, we have seen, gained possession of their church in a very curious way. From this time it was attended monthly, we are told, but only a low mass was said, and the Acadians complained to the Abbé Robin of the difference they found between the Maryland clergy and their old priests at home.[2] Though some of the leading men even retained the old prejudices against Catholicity, a more liberal spirit was rapidly gaining ground. Virginia had in the number and violence of her penal laws against the clergy and people who professed the ancient faith, exceeded all other colonies. Under the new impulse she showed a complete change, and her statesmen were foremost in advocating religious liberty. With this sentiment Washington was imbued, and he showed it on taking command of the Continental army which held the British in Boston.

In the calendar of England the fifth of November had been kept annually as a holiday to commemorate the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot against James I. There it was "Guy Fawkes' Day." Puritans could not very consistently hold celebrations to denounce Catholics for attempting to

[1] Letter August 16, 1775.

[2] Robin, "Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale en l'année 1781," pp. 98–101. His account is by no means accurate and some of his blunders curious. Thus he says: "Maryland is inhabited by many Catholics. The city of Fredericksburg in Virginia, has several churches, as well as Charles Town capital of Carolina. All these churches in North America were subject to the jurisdiction of a Bishop *in partibus* residing in London," etc. He evidently mistook his hasty notes. He probably noted the church at Fredericktown, Maryland, and several chapels in Charles Co., Maryland.

kill the father, when they themselves actually killed the son. But as the neglect to observe the day might be censured, they shrewdly compromised the matter—"Guy Fawkes' Day" became "Pope Day" in New England. A figure to represent the person whom the majority of Christians on earth honored as their Supreme Pontiff was carried in mockery through the streets of Boston and other New England towns, and finally burned amid the huzzas of the rabble. Occasionally there were several processions, and on one occasion the adherents of two rival popes in Boston attacked each other with great fury.[1]

Soon after General Washington took command of the American army he was informed that "Pope Day" was to be celebrated in camp. The insult to the Catholic religion was distasteful to his more liberal mind, and as Congress was making every exertion to win the favor of the Canadians, and the Catholics in the Northwest and in Maine, he saw how impolitic such an exhibition of bigotry would be. He accordingly issued the following order, which abolished "Pope Day" forever, the celebrations of 1774 having been the last:

"November 5th. As the Commander-in-Chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting, and have really obtained the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom

[1] "Weekly Post-Boy," November 18, 1745, under Boston news. "Massachusetts Gazette," November 7, 1765; S. G. Drake, "The History and Antiquities of Boston," Boston, 1856, pp. 662, 709, 752, 772. "U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine," ii., p. 1.

we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause—the defence of the liberty of America.—At this juncture, and under such circumstances, to be insulting their religion, is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada."

Yet as late as November 5, 1774, the Pope in effigy had been paraded with the devil through the streets of not only New England towns, but even of Charleston, and burnt on the Common, in presence of a numerous crowd of people.

The Rev. Mr. Carroll was in the midst of active patriots; his brother Daniel and his kinsman, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, were already prominent, the latter exalted in the public estimation by his recent victory over Daniel Dulany, the ablest lawyer in America.

On the 15th of February, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved "that a committee of three—two of whom to be members of Congress—be appointed to repair to Canada, there to pursue such instructions as shall be given them by that body." Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Chase, members of Congress, were selected as Commissioners with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, whose fluency in French and whose religion would secure him a hearing. Congress went further and requested the Rev. John Carroll to join the Commissioners and assist them in such things as they might think useful.[1] The patriotic priest was ready to risk life, but would not compromise his priestly character. He left his flock

[1] Washington's Writings, iii., p. 144. "New York Journal," December 15, 1774. Journals of Congress. "American Archives," v., p. 411. Spalding, "Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding," p. 288.

for a time to go and lend his influence to induce the Canadians to remain neutral in the struggle between England and her ancient colonies.

In a letter to his mother he thus describes his journey to Canada:

"We have at length come to the end of our long and tedious journey, after meeting with several delays on account of the impassable condition of the lakes; and it is with a longing desire of measuring back the same ground, that I now take up my pen, to inform you of my being in good health, thank God, and of wishing you a perfect enjoyment of yours.

"We came hither the night before last and were received at the landing by General Arnold, and a great body of officers, gentry, etc., and saluted by firing of cannons and other military honors. Being conducted to the General's house, we were served with a glass of wine, while people were crowding in to pay their compliments, which ceremony being over, we were shown into another apartment, and unexpectedly met in it a large assembly of ladies, most of them French. After drinking tea, and sitting some time, we went to an elegant supper, which was followed with the singing of the ladies, which proved very agreeable, and would have been more so, if we had not been so much fatigued with our journey. The next day was spent in receiving visits, and dining in a large company, with whom we were pressed to sup, but excused ourselves in order to write letters, of which this is one, and will be finished and dated to-morrow morning.

"I owe you a journal of our adventures from Philadelphia to this place. When we came to Brunswick in the Jersey government, we overtook the Baron de W——, the Prussian General who had left Philadelphia the day before us. Though I had frequently seen him before, yet he was so dis-

guised in furs, that I scarce knew him, and never, never beheld a more laughable object in my life. Like other Prussian officers, he appears to me as a man who knows little of polite life, and yet has picked up so much of it in his passage through France, as to make a most awkward appearance. When we came to New York, it was no more the gay, polite place, it used to be esteemed, but was become almost a desert unless for troops. The people were expecting a bombardment, and had therefore removed themselves and their effects out of town; and the other side the troops were working at the fortifications with the utmost activity.

"After spending some disagreeable days at this place, we proceeded by water up to Albany, about 160 miles. At our arrival there, we were met by General Schuyler, and entertained by him, during our stay, with great politeness and very genteely. I wrote to you before, of our agreeable situation at Saratoga, and of our journey from thence over Lake George to Ticonderoga: from this latter place we embarked on the great lake of Champlain, about 140 miles to St. John. We had a passage of three days and a half. We always came to in the night time. Passengers generally encamp in the woods, making a covering of the boughs of trees, and large fires at their feet. But as we had good awning to our boat, and had brought with us good beds, and plenty of bedclothes, I chose to sleep on board."[1]

At Montreal the Rev. Mr. Carroll called upon the Rev. Peter René Floquet, who had like himself belonged to the Society of Jesus, when the fiat of the Sovereign Pontiff dissolved that illustrious body. But the Canadian priest was

[1] Letter May 1, 1776, Brent, "Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, first Archbishop of Baltimore," Baltimore, 1843, p. 40. "American Archives," v., p. 1168.

severely censured by his bishop for his courtesy on this occasion and for admitting to their Easter communion Canadians serving in the American army.[1] The Maryland priest waiting on others of the Canadian clergy, found that it was too late to discuss the question of union with the revolted colonies or even neutrality. The Bishop of Quebec and his clergy with few exceptions, satisfied with the Quebec Act, which they regarded justly as only the honest fulfilment of a solemn treaty, were disposed to adhere to the English government, rather than trust to the vague expressions of the United Colonies, whose statute-books still bore the most bitter and unchristian enactments against all adherents and priests of the ancient Church: which had denounced the Quebec Act with the coarsest ribaldry, and whose 'double-faced Congress,' met them with specious and plausible phrases while it denounced them to the people of England.[2]

The American priest found himself, when coming to por-

[1] Letters of Rev. P. R. Floquet to Bishop Briand, June 15, 1776; November 29, 1776.

[2] Extract of a Letter from Canada, dated Montreal, 24th March, 1775: "The Address from the Continental Congress, attracted the Notice of some of the principal Canadians, it was soon translated into very tolerable French; the decent Manner in which the Religious Matters were touch'd; the Encomiums on the French Nation, flattered a People fond of Compliments. They begged the Translator, as he had succeeded so well, to try his hand on that Address to the People of Great Britain; he had equal Success in this, and read his Performance to a numerous Audience; but when he came to that Part which treats of the new modelling of the Province; draws a Picture of the Catholic Religion, and the Canadian Manners, they could not contain their Resentment, nor express it but in broken Curses. Oh! the perfidious double-faced Congress; let us bless and obey our benevolent Prince, whose Humanity is consistent, and extends to all Religions, let us abhor all who would seduce us from our Loyalty, by Acts that would dishonour a Jesuit, and whose Addresses like their Resolves, are destructive of their own Object." "N. Y. Gazette & Weekly Mercury," April 10, 1775, No. 1226.

tray the toleration of his countrymen, confronted by the Rev. McKenna, the victim of their bigotry, by the address which Jay had penned, and by the hostility some of the Continental officers and soldiers had shown to the Canadian clergy. The favorable feeling which had prevailed at first, was rapidly disappearing, and the majority listened to the voice of the Bishop of Quebec, who counselled fidelity to the sovereign to whom they had sworn allegiance.[1]

After various ineffectual attempts to produce a favorable impression on behalf of the colonies, the Rev. Mr. Carroll resolved to return with Mr. Franklin, whose health compelled him to leave the matter in the hands of the other Commissioners. On the 12th of May, the Rev. Mr. Carroll proceeded to join Mr. Franklin at St. John's, where they embarked, and with some difficulty reached Albany. They left that city in a private carriage furnished by General Schuyler, and were in New York by the 27th, and in Philadelphia early in June. The attention paid by the Catholic

[1] "The Governor finding all his efforts ineffectual in raising the militia, applied to the Catholic bishop for his spiritual aid and influence, who sent a mandate to the subordinate clergy of the several parishes, to be read by them after divine service to their parishioners, exhorting them to take up arms in defence of their country: no persuasion could, however, induce them to stand forth in the hour of danger." W. Smith, "History of Canada," Quebec, 1815, ii., p. 76. "Attempts had been made to enlist Irish Roman Catholicks. Ministry knew those attempts had been unsuccessful. The Canadians had been excited to take a part in the quarrel: they had wisely declined to interfere in the business." Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords. "American Archives," vi., p. 183. The bigotry of a few deprived the American cause of all this advantage in Canada. Some writers have taken English boasts of the regiments of Irish Catholics whom they were going to raise (see "Annapolis Gazette," May 25, 1775, October 26, 1775, November 16, 1775, July 31, 1777; "Pennsylvania Journal," January 3, 1776,) as proof that such regiments were actually raised: when in fact it was the utter failure to recruit in Ireland, to which the Duke of Richmond alluded, that forced England to go to German princes to hire troops.

priest to the aged patriot, produced an influence which never faded from Franklin's mind.[1]

The Rev. Mr. Carroll resumed his missionary duties at Rock Creek, visiting the dependent stations, devoting his leisure to study, unless drawn from it by calls of those who more than ever sought the society of the now honored and accomplished priest.

From the commencement of the struggle the Catholics in the country had been in sympathy with the patriots; many entered the army or enrolled themselves in the militia, which no longer refused admission to the sons of Mother Church. Pennsylvania sent Colonel Moylan and Captain Barry of the Navy, Colonel Doyle, and Captain Michael McGuire. Maryland contributed Neales, Boarmans, Brents, Semmes, Mattinglys, Brookes, and Kiltys. The rank and file contained numbers of Catholics.[2]

Archbishop Carroll wrote boldly to a maligner of Catholics in his day: "Their blood flowed as freely (in proportion to their numbers) to cement the fabric of independence, as that of any of their fellow-citizens. They concurred with perhaps greater unanimity than any other body of men in recommending and promoting that government from whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, plenty, good order, and civil and religious liberty."[3] At another time, referring to New Jersey's unjust exclusion of Catholics from office by her Constitution passed during

[1] Works of Franklin, i., p. 404; viii., pp. 182–3. "American Archives," vi., pp. 610, 1027–8. "Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton," Baltimore, 1845, p. 75.

[2] McSherry, "History of Maryland," Baltimore, 1849, pp. 879, etc.

[3] To the Editor of the "Gazette of the U. States," June 10, 1789; Brent, "Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll," Baltimore, 1843, p. 97.

the war, he wrote: "At that very time the American army swarmed with Roman Catholic soldiers, and the world would have held them justified, had they withdrawn themselves from the defence of a state which treated them with so much cruelty and injustice, and which they then actually covered from the depredations of the British army." [1]

The Catholic Indians in Maine, though long without a resident priest, had not lost the faith. Their position on the frontier made it important for the Americans to win them over, and through them obtain at least neutrality from the tribes beyond their territory. These Indians were already favorably disposed, and Washington wrote from his camp before Boston in 1775 to the Indians on the St. John's. Delegates came headed by Ambrose Var to confer with the Council of Massachusetts at Watertown. In their language they showed their religious feeling: "We are thankful to the Almighty to see the Council," was their greeting. They declared their intention to adhere to the cause of the colonists; but they added: "We want a Blackgown or French priest. Jesus, we pray to, and we will not hear any 'prayer' that comes from old England." That this was an earnest wish on their part was evident from the fact that, before they left, they once more requested the Council to obtain a priest for them. The General Court expressed their gratification at this love of religion and declared their readiness to obtain a priest for them, though they did not know where to find one.[2]

Fifty years had wrought its changes; and the same body that offered a reward for the scalp of a Jesuit missionary on the Kennebec and finally compassed his death, was now anxious to give the Indians of those parts a Catholic priest.

[1] Brent, "Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll," Baltimore, 1843, p. 148.

[2] "American Archives," vii., pp. 838, 848.

Then the Penobscots came to give their adhesion to the cause of independence, headed by their chief Orono, whose name Maine bears proudly to this day. They, too, asked a priest, and declined a minister from their New England friends. Loyal throughout to the American cause, Orono and his people would not compromise their faith. "We know our religion and love it; we know nothing of you and yours," he replied when urged to attend Protestant services.[1]

Under the necessity of their position most of the colonies, on throwing off allegiance to England and her king, adopted Constitutions for their future government as States of the American Union. Some of these show that the principle of religious equality had been heartily adopted; others tell us that the old bigotry, so zealously taught from the pulpit of the minister and the desk of the schoolmaster, had not yet been rejected by the patriots of that era.

Although the principles of religious freedom and equality had made progress during the war of the American Revolution, the Constitutions adopted by the several States and the laws passed to regulate the new governments established, show that the people and their leaders had not risen to the level of the Catholic Calvert.

New Hampshire first adopted a very meagre constitution at Exeter in 1776, in which no illiberality appears; but in that of 1792, in spite of opposition, the sixth article provided for "the support and maintenance of the public Protestant teachers," and section 14 enacted that members of the House of Representatives "shall be of the Protestant religion." The Governor, Counsellors, and Senators were also required to be Protestants (sections 29, 42, 61). This exclu-

[1] "American Archives," vii., p. 1228.

sion of Catholics from office has been maintained through the present century.[1]

In Massachusetts (1779–80) Congregationalism was virtually maintained as an established church, although in terms the Constitution guaranteed equal protection to every denomination of Christians, and declared that "no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law," but it authorized towns to lay taxes "for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all cases, where such provision shall not be made voluntarily" (Part i., §§ 1, 3).[2]

In the New York Convention (1777) John Jay had been the persistent enemy of religious equality and even of toleration. When the section on naturalization came up he proposed an amendment requiring the person applying to "abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate, and state in all matters ecclesiastical and civil." Although Morris and Livingston earnestly opposed the amendment, it was carried, and no Catholics could be naturalized; all were excluded, as they could not abjure and renounce subjection to the Pope in ecclesiastical matters. When the section on toleration came up, John Jay moved an amendment giving the Legislature power at any time to deny toleration to any sect or denomination. When this excited debate, he withdrew it and offered another, "Except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome, who ought not to hold any lands or be admitted to a participation of the civil rights enjoyed by

[1] "A Collection of the Constitutions of the Thirteen United States of North America," Glasgow, 1783, p. 11.

[2] Ib., p. 41.

the members of this State, until such time as the said professors shall appear in the Supreme Court of this State, and there most solemnly swear, that they verily believe in their consciences that no pope, priest or foreign authority on earth, hath power to absolve the subjects of this State from their allegiance to the same. And further, that they renounce and believe to be false and wicked the dangerous and damnable doctrine that the Pope, or any other earthly authority, hath power to absolve men from their sins, described in and prohibited by the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and particularly that no pope, priest or foreign authority on earth, hath power to absolve them from the obligation of this oath." This vile and slanderous attack on the Catholics was rejected by a vote of 19 to 10. Jay then introduced another amendment, and though Morris and Livingston again fought the battle of human rights and equal liberty, Jay's last amendment was virtually carried. As passed, the Constitution (Art. XXXVIII.) shows the animus of Mr. Jay. "And whereas we are required, by the benevolent principles of rational liberty, not only to expel civil tyranny, but also to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance, wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes have scourged mankind: this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this State, ordain, determine and declare, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this State, to all mankind. Provided that the liberty of conscience hereby granted, shall not be so construed, as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State." The next article excluded ministers and priests of all denominations from holding any office under the State. But the

Legislature, following the spirit of the "weak and wicked priests and princes" and of Mr. Jay, made an oath of office such that no Catholic could take it, and prevented Catholics from abroad from becoming naturalized as citizens of New York State.[1]

New Jersey also in her Constitution, adopted at Burlington July 2, 1776, professed liberty of conscience in Article XVIII., but in the next enacted "that no protestant inhabitant of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons, professing a belief in the faith of any protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the legislature, and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity, enjoyed by others, their fellow-subjects."

Catholics were thus excluded from office.

Pennsylvania (1776) in her Constitution (Sect. IV.), clearly and explicitly declared "that no person, who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments, shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this commonwealth." It required belief in the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments.[2]

Delaware (1776) required an oath of belief in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in the inspiration of the

[1] "Journal of the Provincial Convention of New York," pp. 842–860. Extracts contributed by me in Bayley, "A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church in the Island of New York." Constitution of the State of New York, 1777. Carey, "American Museum," ix. (19).

[2] "A Collection," etc., p. 104.

Scriptures (Art. XXII.); and forbade the establishment of any one religious sect in preference to another, and excluded clergymen and preachers of the Gospel, from all civil offices, while they continued in the exercise of the pastoral function (Art. XXIX.).

The Maryland Constitution (1776) provided that "Every gift, sale, or devise of lands to any minister or sect, except for the erection of a church or use as a burial-ground," should be void. All officers were required to subscribe a declaration of belief in the Christian religion.

Virginia (1776) declared all men entitled to the free exercise of religion,[1] and ten years after placed a distinctive act on her statute-book. After a long preamble, in which all interference by the State with the religion of the people is condemned, the State of Virginia in the year 1786 enacted:

"Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, that no man shall be compelled to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever; nor shall be forced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief. But that all men be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion: and that the same shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

"And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the act of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare that the rights hereby asserted, are natural rights of mankind; and

[1] Ordinances of Virginia. Williamsburg: 1776, p. 5.

that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such an act will be an infringement of natural rights."[1]

But the Constitution of North Carolina, 1776 (Sect. XXXII.), read: "No person who shall deny the truth of the protestant religion, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this State." Yet it declared: "All men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own consciences."[2]

And South Carolina (1778) in the twelfth and thirteenth articles of her Constitution, declared that "No person shall be eligible to a seat in the senate," or "to sit in the house of representatives," "unless he be of the protestant religion." And it had this clear and distinct article: "The Christian Protestant shall be deemed and is hereby constituted and declared to be the religion of this State. That all denominations of Christian Protestants in this State, demeaning themselves peaceably and faithfully, shall enjoy equal civil and religious privileges." It was also provided, that no church should be incorporated, unless it subscribed five articles, including justification by faith only, and the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith.[3]

The Protestant Church was thus established by law.

It was virtually only in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia that penal laws against Catholics were absolutely swept away, and the professors of the true faith admitted to all rights of citizenship, though Connecticut and Georgia placed no apparent restriction.

[1] "Annual Register," London, 1786, pp. 68–4. "American Museum," 1789, ii., p. 501.

[2] "A Collection," etc., p. 127, 176, 314. [3] Ib., pp. 185, 193–4.

Rhode Island indeed repealed the clause denying toleration to Catholics, and Connecticut had no express enactment, but prior law established Congregationalism.

Though the Constitutions might in general terms proclaim the doctrine of religious equality in the eye of the law, yet statutes were passed that in many cases left very little liberty.

We can thus see that Dr. Carroll was just in condemning the reluctance shown in many parts of the country to lay aside old prejudices and admit to equal rights the Catholics who had so promptly and unanimously supported the national cause.

During the war the Catholic clergy continued their labors, and so far as researches go, only one was at all molested. His case did not arise from disloyalty, but from a scruple of conscience.

Rev. Mr. Mosley was still laboring zealously on the Eastern Shore, cut off from his fellow-priests. His Easter communions numbered about fifty, while the confessions of those too young to make their first communion, carried his number of parishioners approaching the sacraments to more than three hundred. His list of converts shows his zeal, for at his death they numbered 185, not a few probably received into the Church in their last moments.

The good priest apparently took no part in the political excitement raging around him, but was not molested. Yet when the new Maryland Legislature on the 1st of March, 1778, prohibited any minister of religion to preach unless he took a prescribed oath, the good priest's conscience was troubled. He could not consult other priests to learn how they regarded it. "I must confess," he says, "that I thought that taking such an oath, was taking an active part in changes of government, which I conceived was acting out of character, and beyond the business of a clergyman. I conceived

that swearing to defend to the utmost of my power, and taking up arms was much the same thing. It is true a clergyman may advise and approve of a just war, but the greatest Justice of it, will not entitle him to take up arms." Under this scruple he did not take the oath, but he says: "Every Roman Catholic took it in due time, under my direction, not one excepted, which I think you will judge, that it must speak a kind word, and be powerful in my favour, with them that may any way be disposed to censure me." When he ascertained that his fellow-priests had taken the oath, he presented himself before an adjourned court in Talbot County, to take the oath. It was objected, however, that the prescribed time had passed, and he therefore sent a petition to the Assembly. A special act at last enabled him to preach. In those days a sermon at a funeral was held indispensable, and Rev. Mr. Mosley notes in his diary, "No sermon, not having qualified by an oath to be taken by Law, By all that would preach."[1] The Legislature passed an act to meet his case, and on the 12th of September, 1780, he notes: "Burial at Mr. William Young's, Queen Ann's Co. Sermon, having qualified by a private act for myself."[2]

From Goshenhoppen Father de Ritter continued his visits to the usual stations, attending the church in Reading and opening a mission in Allentown, where the house of Francis Cooper seems to have been the first meeting-place of Catholics. Easton, too, was visited from August, 1769, Nicholas Hucki being the host of the missionary. His zeal was re-

[1] The law of December 3, 1777, Sec. 10, imposed a treble tax on nonjurors; and Sec. 17 prohibited nonjurors from "preaching or teaching the gospel."

[2] Acts December 3, 1777, and June, 1780. Diary of Father Mosley. "Mr. Mosley's Reasons for not taking the oath of fidelity to the State." Woodstock Letters, vol. xv., pp. 137–143.

warded by conversions, and he notes that on the 26th of December, 1775, he received the profession of faith of Frederic Ulmer, a Lutheran. The convert's wife was a Catholic, and had taught her little eight-year-old daughter her prayers and fidelity to her religion. The stepfather endeavored to drag the child to the Lutheran meeting, but she stoutly resisted, and though he endeavored to teach her Lutheran prayers, he suddenly yielded to God's grace and came to seek instruction for himself and baptism for the child, who had been only privately baptized. The little Catharine, when Father Ritter examined her in her catechism, answered him so promptly and correctly, and with such evident



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER DE RITTER.

attachment to the faith, that the missionary recorded the circumstance in his Register.

The converts were Lutherans, Calvinists, Pietists, and people of no religion, and we have lists of those received into the Church by him some years later, showing his zeal and devotedness. The baptisms in the various missions attended by him increased from 42 in 1766 to 69 in 1781, by a gradual augmentation.[1]

Father Farmer, from his church in Philadelphia, extended his apostolical excursions far and wide. In 1763 his labors were chiefly in the city and New Jersey, then in Chester County, and the next year as far as Goshenhoppen and Hay-

[1] "Liber Baptizatorum," etc., Goshenhoppen.. The first entry of a baptism at Allentown is March 25, 1774.

cock. His missions in 1765 were advanced in New Jersey from Pikesland and Geiger's in Salem County to Basking Ridge in Somerset County, and to Ringwood, in the mining district of Passaic County, near the New York line. This last, with other places in the vicinity, Charlottenburg and Long Pond, now Greenwood Lake, were evidently homes of German Catholics, brought over to work the iron mines and furnaces established there. This little body of Catholics finally gathered around the church when it was erected at Macopin. The great mass of other Catholics was in Salem County, but the Rev. Mr. Farmer visited Burlington, Gloucester, Hunterdon, Morris, and Sussex Counties, in his zeal to minister to the widely-scattered Catholics. We obtain some idea of the places he visited from his registered baptisms, numbering 110 in 1765, 120 in 1767, 110 in 1768, 102 in 1771, 132 in the following year. Even after the war of the Revolution had actually begun he was diligent in his visits to Northern Jersey, and he records 139 baptisms in 1775. His yearly journey to this mining district was made about the month of October, 1775, 1776, and 1778; but in the spring of 1777 and 1779 and the summer of 1780.[1]

At an early period of the war, the statesmen of America saw that the hope of ultimate success depended, to a certain extent, on their securing recognition from some of the great European powers, and if possible forming an actual alliance. The colonies which a quarter of a century before had given their sons and their means to wrest Canada from France, now turned to that country for aid to deprive England of her transatlantic possessions, as French statesmen had foreseen.

The struggle had already excited attention in Europe, and

[1] Father Farmer's Register, preserved at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia.

Catholic army officers like Lafayette, Kosciusko, du Portail, Gimat, Mottin de la Balme, Pulaski, Tronson du Coudray, navy officers like Dourville and Pierre Landais,[1] were already in America aiding by their skill and experience the brave but untrained levies of the Continental Congress.[2]

On the 6th of February, 1778, the King of France made a treaty of amity and commerce with the new republic, "The United States," which were thus formally recognized as an independent nation. A defensive treaty of alliance was also signed, and a great Catholic power came forward to extend to America her sympathy and aid.

Early in May a French fleet sailed from Toulon, bearing to our shores Conrad Alexander Gerard, as the first ambassador from the old continent to the republic. He arrived in August, and with him began the diplomatic body, representing foreign powers near the United States. The next year Spain declared war against England, and she too sent a representative to the American Congress in the person of Señor Miralles. Thus the first diplomatic circle at the American seat of government was Catholic, and openly so, for these envoys celebrated great events either in their own countries or in the United States, by the solemn services of the Catholic Church, to which we find them inviting the members

[1] Hilliard d'Auberteuil, "Essais Historiques et Politiques de la Revolution de l'Amérique Septentrionale," p. 300, etc.; "N. Y. Revolutionary Papers," i., pp. 448, 450.—Du Coudray was appointed to a post with the rank of major-general, August 11, 1776, but joined the army as a captain, and was drowned in the Schuylkill in September. His funeral obsequies took place at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, and on that occasion the Continental Congress for the first time attended a Catholic church. Mottin de la Balme after serving in the cavalry was killed in a well-planned and rapidly executed plan to capture Detroit.

[2] Soulès, "Histoire des Troubles," Paris, 1787, iii., p. 23.

of the Continental Congress and the high officers of the Republic.

French fleets were soon in American waters, and ere long a French army was welcomed on American soil. The Catholic priests hitherto seen in the colonies had been barely tolerated in the limited districts where they labored; now came Catholic chaplains of foreign embassies; army and navy chaplains celebrating mass with pomp on the men-of-war and in the camps and cities. The time had not yet come for complete religious freedom, which gained slowly; but progress was soon made. Rhode Island, with a French fleet in her water, blotted from her statute-book a law against Catholics.

The French chaplains in both arms of the service came in contact with Catholics in all parts, and the masses said in the French lines were attended by many who had not for years had an opportunity of attending the holy sacrifice.

We have no details of the services of these priests, and few even of their names. The Abbé de Glesnon, hospital chaplain, resided at the Widow Brayton's house in Newport, and during the stay in Providence at Benjamin Allen's.[1] The Abbé Robin arrived at Boston in 1781, and was there for some time.[2] The Rev. Mr. Lacy, an Irish priest, was also an hospital chaplain, and traversed the country from Boston to Virginia;[3] the Carmelite Father Paul de St. Pierre, who was afterward on the mission in the Mississippi valley, is also said to have been a chaplain in Rochambeau's army.

When the alliance of Congress with France and the ap-

[1] Lists furnished by H. T. Drowne in Stone, "Our French Allies," Providence, 1884, pp. 222, 323. No other priest is named in these lists.

[2] Robin, "Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," Philadelphia, 1782.

[3] "The Journal of Claude Blanchard," Albany, 1876, pp. 165, 184.

proach of a French fleet became known, the Tory papers endeavored to excite the old anti-Catholic prejudice against the American cause. One writer said: "You were told that it was to avoid the establishing or countenancing of Popery; and that Popery was established in Canada (where it was only tolerated). And is not Popery now as much established by law in your State as any other religion? So that your governor and all your rulers may be Papists, and you may have a Mass-House in every corner of your country (as some places already experience.)" [1]

Other journals gave imaginary items of news such as they asserted would soon be common in the papers. This will serve as a sample of pretended news ten years ahead of time:

"Boston, November 11, 1789.

"The Catholic religion is not only outwardly professed, but has made the utmost progress among all ranks of people here, owing in a great measure to the unwearied labours of the Dominican and Franciscan Friars who omit no opportunity of scattering the seeds of religion, and converting the wives and daughters of heretics. We hear that the building formerly called the Old South Meeting-House, is fitted up for a Cathedral, and that several other old meeting-houses are soon to be repaired for convents." [2]

Accounts of the burning of Quakers and heretics by order of the Inquisition were also given in the same vein. In a series of papers addressed "To the People of North America," the writer dilated on the encouragement given by Congress and its leaders to that faith. "In very many districts of the Continent, and in some of New England," he

[1] Rivington's "Royal Gazette," January 6, 1779.

[2] Ib., March 17, 1779.

proceeds, "where popery was formerly detested, and scarcely a papist was to be seen, numbers of popish books are now dispersed, and read with avidity. I could name a member of the rebel Council in one of the New England colonies, who was formerly considered as a zealous Protestant dissenter, who not long since harangued a large assembly of people on some of the disputed points between Protestants and Papists; such as the invocation of saints, purgatory, transubstantiation, etc. After palliating each of these, straining the sense to put the most favorable and least offensive construction on them, and softening them with as much art as the most subtle disciple of Loyola could use, he finally declared that he saw nothing amiss or erroneous in them; and his audience seemed to be wonderfully pleased and edified. I could name another Protestant dissenter, whose antipathy to popery seemed formerly to border on enthusiasm: yet who lately declared his wish to see a popish priest settled in every county throughout America." [1]

The Tory papers held up to ridicule and scorn the conduct of the Continental and State officials in approving by their presence the worship and rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

Thus one announced: "On the 4th of November, the clergy and selectmen of Boston paraded through the streets after a crucifix, and joined in a procession for praying a departed soul out of purgatory; and for this they gave the example of Congress and other American leaders on a former occasion at Philadelphia, some of whom in the height of their zeal, even went so far as to sprinkle themselves with what they call holy water." [2]

[1] "New York Gazette," July 26, 1779.

[2] Rivington's "Royal Gazette," December 11, 1782.

When General Benedict Arnold, lured by British offers, sought to betray into the hands of the enemy the important strategic post which he commanded, and fled to their lines, he addressed a proclamation to the officers and soldiers of the Continental army, in which he holds up to reprobation the conduct of the body governing the republic. "And should the parent nation cease her exertions to deliver you, what security remains to you, even for the enjoyment of the consolations of that religion for which your fathers braved the ocean, the heathen and the wilderness? Do you know that the eye which guides this pen, lately saw your mean and profligate Congress at Mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory, and participating in the rites of a Church against whose anti-Christian corruptions your pious ancestors would have witnessed with their blood." [1]

The English government hoped about this time to draw some of the Catholics in America to their military service, the whole tendency among them being for the side of Congress. It was accordingly proposed to create a regiment of Roman Catholic Volunteers. A special Act enabled the King to commission Catholics in America during the war. The officers were Alfred Clifton, lieutenant-colonel; John Lynch, major; Mathias Hanley, Nicholas Wiergan, and Thomas Yelverton, captains; John Peter Eck, John Neill, and Patrick Kane, lieutenants; John Nowlan, quartermaster.[2] After the capture of Philadelphia the English

[1] Arnold's Proclamation, October 20, 1780, in Almon, "Remembrancer." 1781, p. 21.

[2] Mills and Hicks, "British and American Register," 1779, p. 97, under the heading, "Late Roman Catholick Volunteers," showing that it was no longer in existence. Clifton, "an English gentleman of an Irish mother," figures in the Black List and may have been a resident; or held property in Pennsylvania like Elliott.

hoped to make the project successful by inducing Rev. Ferdinard Farmer to become chaplain of this regiment. The German priests not being British subjects, or able to become naturalized under colonial law, had apparently abstained from any interference in political affairs, but Father Farmer would not lend the influence of his name to the enemies of America.[1]

The Catholic religion, once proscribed through the length and breadth of the land, had put off her garment of sackcloth. Catholicity was recognized by the Continental Congress, and

[1] F. Ferdinand Farmer to a priest in London, March 2, 1778; Woodstock Letters, xiv., p. 196. The following is an advertisement relating to this Regiment:

For the Encouragement of all
Gentlemen Volunteers,
Who are willing to serve in his Majesty's Regt. of
Roman Catholic Volunteers,
Commanded by
Lieut.-Col. Commandant,
ALFRED CLIFTON,
During the present wanton and unnatural Rebellion,
AND NO LONGER,
The sum of FOUR POUNDS,
will be given above the usual Bounty,
A suit of NEW CLOATHS,
And every other necessary to complete a Gentleman soldier.

Those who are willing to shew their attachment to their King and country by engaging in the above regiment, will call at Captain M'Kennon, at No. 51, in Cherry-street, near the Ship Yards, or at Major John Lynch, encamped at Yellow-Hook, where they will receive present pay and good quarters.

N. B.—Any person bringing a well-bodied loyal subject to either of the above places, shall receive ONE GUINEA for his trouble.

God Save the KING.

—"N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury," July 13, 1778, No. 1394.

Bancroft says positively: "In Philadelphia Howe had been able to form a regiment of Roman Catholics," v., p. 295. The very reverse is true. It never existed except on paper. The recruiting in 1778 failed, and the "List" for 1779, printed in the latter part of 1778, calls it "The late." The regiment was already defunct.

M.

Vous êtes prié de la part du Miniſtre Plenipotentiaire de France, d'aſſiſter au TE DEUM, qu'il fera chanter Dimanche 4 de ce Mois, à midi dans la Chapelle Catholique neuve pour celebrer l'Anniverſaire de l'Independance des Etats Unis de l'Amerique.

A Philadelphie, le 2 Juillet, 1779.

A PHILADELPHIE, De l'Imprimerie de FRANÇOIS BAILEY, Rue du Marché

1779

DISCOURS prononcé le 4 *Juillet*, jour de l'Anniverſaire de l'Indépendance, dans l'Egliſe Catholique, de Phi
par le Reverend Pere SERAPHIN BANDOT, Recollet, Aumônier de Son Excellence Mr. GERARD, Miniſtre Plénipotentiaire de *France* auprès des Etats Unis de l'*Amérique Septentrionale*.

MESSIEURS,

NOUS ſommes aſſemblés pour célébrer l'anniverſaire du jour que la Providence avoit marqué dans ſes décrets éternels pour devenir l'époque de la liberté & de l'indépendance des Treize Etats Unis de l'Amérique. L'être dont la main toute puiſſante tient ſous ſon empire tout ce qui exiſte, produit ſans doute dans les profondeurs de ſa ſageſſe ces grands événements, qui étonnent l'univers, & dont les hommes les plus préſomptueux n'oſent intérieurement s'attribuer le mérite, lors même

qu'ils en ont été les inſtruments. Mais le doigt de Dieu eſt encore plus particulierement marqué dans la Révolution heureuſe & glorieuſe qui fait l'objet de cette feſtivité. Il a frappé les oppreſſeurs d'un peuple libre & tranquille de cet eſprit de vertige qui rend les méchants les artiſans de leurs propres malheurs. Permettez, mes chers freres, citoyens des Etats Unis que je vous addreſſe la parole dans ce moment: C'eſt lui, c'eſt le Dieu tout puiſſant qui a dirigé vos démarches lorsque vous ne ſaviez où chercher des conſeils; c'eſt lui, qui du glaive de ſa juſtice éternelle a combattu pour vous lorsque vous n'aviez pas d'armes; il a verſé ſur vous l'eſprit de force, de ſageſſe & de conſtance, lorsque vous étiez dans l'adverſité; il a enfin ſuſcité pour votre appui un jeune Potentat dont les vertus ſont le bonheur & l'ornement d'une nation ſenſible, fidèle & genereuſe. Cette nation a confondu ſes intérêts et ſes ſentiments avec vos intérêts & vos ſentiments; ſa joye eſt la vôtre, & elle unit dans ce jour ſa voix à la vôtre aux pieds des autels de l'Eternel, pour célébrer la révolution glorieuſe, qui a rangé les enfans de l'Amérique au nombre des nations libres & indépendantes de la terre.

Nous n'avons, Meſſieurs, déſormais à redouter que la colere céleſte & à éviter que la meſure de nos iniquités ne ſurpaſſe celle de ſa clémence. Proſternons nous donc aux pieds du Dieu immortel, qui tient dans ſa main le ſort des empires pour les élever & les briſer à ſon gré. Conjurons le d'éclairer nos ennemis aveuglés & de diſpoſer leurs coeurs à jouir de la tranquillité & du bonheur que la révolution que nous célebrons doit fixer ſur une partie conſiderable du genre humain. Supplions le de

nous conduire par la voye que ſa prévoyance a ſecretement tracé pour parvenir à un but ſi deſirable. Offrons lui des coeurs pleins des ſentiments auſſi reſpectables, avoués par la religion, par l'humanité & par le patriotiſme. Jamais le miniſtere auguſte des autels n'eſt plus agréable à la divinité ; que lorsqu'il dépoſe à ſes pieds des hommages, des voeux, des offrandes auſſi pures & auſſi dignes du pere commun de tous les hommes. Dieu ne rejettera pas notre joye, parceque c'eſt lui qui en eſt l'auteur ; il ne fermera pas l'oreille à nos prieres, parceque nous n'attendons de lui, que l'accompliſſement entier des décrets qu'il a manifeſté. Rempli de cet eſprit élevons donc de concert, Meſſieurs, nos coeurs vers l'Eternel, implorons ſa bonté infinie, afin qu'elle daigne inſpirer aux chefs des deux nations la ſageſſe & la force néceſſaire pour conduire à ſa perfection cet ouvrage commencé par Elle-même ; uniſſons enfin nos voix pour la ſupplier de répandre ſa bénédiction ſur les conſeils & ſur les armes alliées, afin que nous puiſſions bientôt jouir des douceurs d'une paix, qui cimente l'union & aſſure la proſperité conſtante des deux empires. C'eſt dans cette vue, que nous allons entonner le cantique que l'uſage de l'Egliſe Catholique a conſacré, pour être à la fois un témoignage de la joye publique, une action de graces pour les bienfaits reçus du ciel & une priere pour obtenir la continuation de ſes bénédictions.

A PHILADELPHIE, de l'Imprimerie de STEINER & CIST.

by the Commander-in-Chief of the American army: It was recognized by the State of Pennsylvania, the Legislature this year, in reorganizing the College of Philadelphia, having constituted as one of the Trustees, "the Senior Minister of the Roman Catholic churches in Philadelphia."

As the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence approached, Mr. Gerard prepared to celebrate it by a religious service at St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia, and issued an invitation in this form:

"MR.

"You are invited by the Minister Plenipotentiary of France to attend the TE DEUM, which will be chanted on Sunday, the 4th of this month, at noon, in the new Catholic Chapel, to celebrate the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America.

"Philadelphia, July 2, 1779.

"Philadelphia, Press of Francis Bailey, Market St."

To this function the President and members of the Continental Congress were invited, and on the occasion a sermon was preached by the Rev. Father Seraphin Bandol, Recollect, chaplain to Mr. Gerard. As it was probably the first Catholic discourse communicated by the press to the people of the Thirteen United States, it is not unworthy of being inserted.[1]

"GENTLEMEN:—We are assembled to celebrate the anniversary of that day which Providence had marked in his Eternal Decrees, to become the epocha of liberty and independence to thirteen United States of America. That Being,

[1] Fac-similes of the Invitation and Address are given from originals in the Ridgway Library, Philadelphia, by the courtesy of the Librarian; my attention having been called to them by my friend, C. R. Hildeburn, Esq.

whose Almighty hand holds all existence beneath its dominion, undoubtedly produces in the depths of His wisdom, those great events which astonish the universe, and of which the most presumptuous, though instrumental in accomplishing them, dare not attribute to themselves the merit. But the finger of God is still more peculiarly evident in that happy, that glorious revolution, which calls forth this day's festivity. He hath struck the oppressors of a people free and peaceable, with the spirit of delusion which renders the wicked artificers of their own proper misfortunes. Permit me, my dear brethren, citizens of the United States, to address you on this occasion. It is that God, that all-powerful God who hath directed your steps, when you knew not where to apply for counsel; who, when you were without arms, fought for you with the sword of Justice; who, when you were in adversity, poured into your hearts the spirit of courage, of wisdom and of fortitude, and who hath at length raised up for your support a youthful sovereign, whose virtues bless and adorn a sensible, a faithful, and a generous nation. This nation has blended her interests with your interests, and her sentiments with yours. She participates in all your joys, and this day unites her voice to yours, at the foot of the altars of the Eternal God, to celebrate that glorious revolution, which has placed the sons of America among the free and independent nations of the earth.

"We have nothing now to apprehend but the anger of Heaven, or that the measure of our guilt should exceed His mercy. Let us then prostrate ourselves at the feet of the immortal God who holds the fate of empires in His hands and raises them up at His pleasure, or breaks them down to dust. Let us conjure him to enlighten our enemies, and to dispose their hearts to enjoy that tranquillity and happiness which the revolution we now celebrate has established for a

great part of the human race. Let us implore him to conduct us by that way which His Providence has marked out for a union at so desirable an end. Let us offer unto him hearts imbued with sentiments of respect, consecrated by religion, by humanity, and by patriotism. Never is the august ministry of His altars more acceptable to His Divine Majesty than when it lays at His feet homages, offerings and vows, so pure, so worthy the common parent of mankind. God will not reject our joy, for He is the author of it; nor will He reject our prayers, for they ask but the full accomplishment of the decrees He hath manifested. Filled with this spirit let us, in concert with each other, raise our hearts to the Eternal. Let us implore His infinite mercy to be pleased to inspire the rulers of both nations with the wisdom and force necessary to perfect what it hath begun. Let us, in a word, unite our voices to beseech Him to dispense His blessings upon the councils and the arms of the allies, and that we may soon enjoy the sweets of a peace which will cement the union, and establish the prosperity of the two empires. It is with this view that we shall cause that canticle to be performed which the custom of the Catholic Church hath consecrated to be at once a testimonial of public joy, a thanksgiving for benefits received from Heaven, and a prayer for the continuance of its mercies." [1]

Early in 1780 Don Juan Miralles, the Spanish envoy, proceeded to the Camp of Washington, but was there prostrated

[1] "Discours prononcé le 4 Juillet, jour de l'Anniversaire de l'Independence, dans l'Eglise Catholique, par le Reverend Pere Seraphin Bandot, Recollet, Aumônier de son Excellence Mr. Gerard, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de France auprès des Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale. . . ." Philadelphia, folio, 1 leaf. In English, in "Connecticut and Universal Intelligencer," New London, August 18, 1779; Westcott, "History of Philadelphia," ch. 365.

by a pulmonary fever. His secretary, Francis Rendon, who had remained at Philadelphia, learning of this, set out for the camp with Father Seraphin Bandol. After receiving the last sacraments with great piety and contrition from the hands of the Recollect priest, Señor Miralles expired in the afternoon of April 28, 1780. He was buried the next day in the common burying-ground near the church at Morristown, followed to the grave by General Washington, several of the general officers and members of Congress walking as chief mourners, four artillery officers bearing the coffin, and six acting as pall-bearers. The French chaplain recited the Catholic burial service at the grave and blessed it.[1]

On the 4th of May a solemn requiem was offered for the repose of his soul at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, attended by the members of the Continental Congress, and by Mr. de la Luzerne, the French minister. The empty catafalque was to the curious a matter of great surprise.[2]

The Count d'Estaing, after anchoring with his fleet in the harbor of Boston in 1778, published an address to the Canadians in the name of the King of France. He told them that being of the same blood, speaking the same language, having the same customs, the same laws, the same religion, it would be far more to their interest to shake off the yoke of the English than to fight against their old countrymen.[3] He said: "I shall not observe to the ministers of the altars,

[1] Francisco Rendon to Don José de Galvez, Philadelphia, May 8, 1780; Thacher, "Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War," Hartford, 1854, pp. 162, 198.

[2] See Rivington's "Gazette," Monday, May 22, 1780. Moore, "Diary of the American Revolution," New York, 1860, pp. 267–8.

[3] Soulès, "Histoire des Troubles," iii., p. 65. The "Extrait du Journal d'un Officier de la Marine de l'Escadre de M. le Comte d'Estaing," 1782, p. 38, makes no allusion to the address.

that their evangelic efforts will require the special protection of Providence, to prevent faith being diminished by example, by worldly interest, and by sovereigns whom force has imposed upon them, and whose political indulgence will be lessened proportionably as those sovereigns shall have less to fear. I shall not observe that it is necessary for religion, that those who preach it should form a body in the State; and that in Canada no other body would be more considered, or have more power to do good than that of the priests, taking a part to the government, since their respectable conduct has merited the confidence of the people." [1]

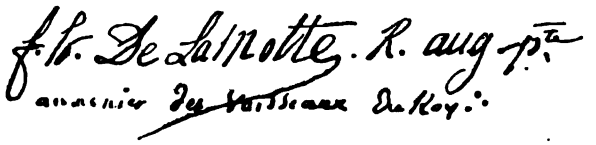
The effect of this address throughout Canada and the northwest territory was very great. Many of the clergy and people were filled with hope of recovering their lost nationality, so that the English authorities were filled with alarm.[2] The Indians, too, who had clung to their old attachment to the French, were no less affected. Those in Maine solicited a priest. Hotker, general agent of the French navy and consul at Boston, when sending to the St. John's Indians, then near Machias, the Declaration of Count d'Estaing, wrote: "Brethren—Believe me that I am penetrated with the keenest grief, at my inability to send you a priest. Learn for your consolation that I have written to the King to ask him for one, as well as to Mr. Gerard, Minister Plenipotentiary to Congress. I have no doubt the King will send you one: he loves you too much to refuse you. In the

[1] D'Estaing, "A Declaration addressed in the name of the King of France to all the ancient French of North America." Printing office of F. P. Demauge, On board of the Languedoc, Boston Harbor, October 28, 1778; Annual Register, 1779, p. 357; New York Colonial Document, x., pp. 1165–7.

[2] Brymner, "Report on Canadian Archives."

meantime love Jesus Christ with all your souls and remain at peace."[1]

In the operations between the English and French naval forces a vessel belonging to the latter was captured and carried into New York. The officers were paroled, and among them was the chaplain, Rev. H. De La Motte, an Augustinian. The Catholics in the city, hearing that a priest was actually on Manhattan Island, asked him to say mass for them. Not wishing to give umbrage to the British authorities, Father De La Motte solicited permission to comply with the pious wishes of these people. His request was refused, but understanding English imperfectly the priest supposed that the necessary sanction had been given. A place was



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. H. DE LA MOTTE.[2]

found, and he said mass before the few Catholics then in New York. The British commander at once arrested Father De La Motte for violating his parole, and confined him in prison, not improbably the old Sugar House in Crown Street, near the Middle Dutch Church, and here he was detained till an exchange was effected. The paper published in New York in the English interest subsequently referred approv-

[1] Letter to Ambrose St. Aubine, Noel Pres, Nicholas Hawawas, and others, Boston, November 17, 1778.

[2] The signature reads: Friar H. De La Motte, Religious Augustinian priest, chaplain on the King's men-of-war.

ingly to this action as evincing the zeal of the authorities for the Protestant religion.[1]

Father De La Motte must have been released early in 1779, and set out for Boston, passing through Gen. Sullivan's camp. He was entertained at Providence by Mr. Laurence. On reaching Boston, the Council of Massachusetts agreed to send him as a missionary to Machias, "where," wrote Gen. Gates, "he may be useful in bringing the Nova Scotia Indians to our interest."[2]

Father De La Motte reached Maine in May, and on the 19th sent the following letter to the Indians living near Passamaquoddy:

✠ My Children:

Knowing that for a very long time you sigh and beg with the greatest ardor for a priest to instruct you for your Eternal salvation and bring you back to the way of the Lord: I cannot, my children, but applaud such pious sentiments, and such Christian and holy views to obtain the blessing of the Almighty on all your enterprises. The King of France our common father, always occupied with your own happiness, and to convince you, and to give you an authentic mark of the sincere friendship which he has always entertained for you, and which he will continue to cherish, if you are willing to merit its continuance, sends me to you, my children, in concert with the United States of America our dear allies and good friends, to remind you of your duties, your obligations, and your engagement to so good a prince, in order to defeat soon and completely our common enemy

[1] Papinian in "To the People of North America, No. 9"; Rivington's "Royal Gazette," July 17, 1779.

[2] General Horatio Gates to Major-Gen. Sullivan, Boston, February 22, 1779.

and then enjoy in full peace, the heritage of your fathers. Our common Father will neglect nothing to fulfil your desire and happiness utterly. Your appeal which reached the foot of his throne, has excited the tender sensibility of his heart in your behalf; may you, my children, correspond to it!

I hope, my children, soon to enjoy the happiness of seeing you all together at Machias. I look forward to the moment with the greatest impatience. I will speak to you more at length at our first interview. I arrived here yesterday at 2 P.M. I write you to-day and send you as a proof of the inviolable devotedness and attachment I feel for you, a wampum pledge ✠ of peace, which the bearer will deliver to you in my name and which I beg you to accept in the same sentiments in which I salute you, your chiefs, your women, and children, and I am for life with the most sincere friendship,

Yours affectionately,
friar H. DE LA MOTTE, Augustinian
Religious priest.
Chaplain on the Royal ships of the line.[1]

Father La Motte on the 28th of July announced his intention to depart: the next year the Passamaquoddy Indians having no missionary, resorted to the priest on the St. John, although Colonel Allen, the agent, endeavored to dissuade them.[2]

The Bishop of Quebec, notwithstanding the existence of war throughout the country, did not neglect the western por-

[1] Translated from the original lent to me by the late Rev. Father Freitag, C.SS.R. La Motte is evidently alluded to in Blanchard's Journal, p. 63.

[2] Letter of De Valnais, French Consul at Boston, to the Indians, August 23, 1780. Brymner's Report, 1888, pp. 900–4.

tion of his diocese. In 1778 he appointed the Rev. John Francis Hubert to the parish of the Holy Family at Cahokia. The Canadian priest undertook the dangerous task and reached the post assigned to him, but he apparently found it impossible to effect much good there, as he withdrew in the following year.

At Detroit the aged Franciscan, Father Simplicius Bocquet, still maintained the faith, struggling courageously with the evil elements in his parish. The Sulpitian, Rev. John Dilhet, who was stationed at Detroit in the early part of the present century, says of the last of the Recollect priests at Detroit: "He governed this parish with much zeal and prudence; he prevented abuses from creeping in, such as honorary rights to seats, to holy water, and so forth, claimed by royal officers; he required the Trustees (fabrique) to support a chanter; he maintained a school for the instruction of the children; he bought a large bell, and a silver gilt ostensorium; suppressed great scandals, such as illegal marriages, the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians, public concubinage, seditious opposition by trustees (marguillers) to his authority. He succeeded in banishing these abuses and scandals by his firmness, prudence, and imperturbable patience. Hence his name is still in benediction at Detroit, where all who saw him even in his old age, and when his mind had lost some of its vigor, never cease to extol his virtues and the esteem the whole parish entertained for him and his good qualities."[1] But his strength began to fail, and the firm hand grew weak. In 1782 the Bishop of Quebec sent Very Rev. John Francis Hubert as his Vicar-General in the West. He reached Detroit in October.

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique ou du Diocese des Etats Unis," pp. 103–4.

The veteran Father Simplicius, recalled to Canada, had already bidden farewell to the flock whom he had so long directed in the way of salvation.[1] On his way down to the house of his order, he met at Isle Carleton the Rev. Louis Payet,[2] who had been appointed parish priest of Detroit. His friend and fellow-laborer, the Jesuit Father Peter Potier, stricken down with apoplexy, had died at Sandwich, July 16, 1781, the last of the old Jesuit missionaries of the West.[3]

The Rev. Mr. Payet was installed as parish priest at Detroit in October, 1782, and assumed the administration also of Sandwich. He set to work with zeal to rebuild the parochial residences, to repair the churches, and lay out a new cemetery.[4]

The jurisdiction of the Very Rev. John Francis Hubert as

[1] His Register goes on regularly to September 21, 1780. Then follows a blank space, and a baptism in 1780 without month or day. A new register begins September 5, 1781, with an interment and a baptism by "Hubert, Priest, Vicar-General." After an entry by him October 10, comes a baptismal entry October 11, signed Payet, priest, and other entries to October 21. Then follows the entry of a baptism June 18, year not stated, in the hand of and signed by fr. Simplicius Bocquet, Recollect missionary, parish priest and Vicar General. The entry immediately following, is a baptism signed "Payet ptre curé" (parish priest). He died March 24, 1787. Tanguay, "Repertoire Général," p. 107. He had been in America from June, 1743.

[2] According to Tanguay, "Repertoire Général," p. 125, he was born at Montreal, August 25, 1749, and was ordained February 26, 1774. He remained at Detroit till June 22, 1786, and was parish priest at Chambly in the same year.

[3] Letter of Rev. Mr. Payet to Bishop Briand January 8, 1783. He signs as parish priest in the Register of St. Ann's, Detroit, October 22, 1782, a few previous entries being signed merely "priest." Father Du Jaunay died in the same year, February 17. Rev. Peter Potier, born April 2, 1708, entered the Society September 28, 1729, came to America in 1743. Martin, "Catalogue des Membres de la Compagnie de Jésus," No. 194.

[4] Letter of Rev. Mr. Payet to Bishop Briand, July 13, 1783.

Vicar-General of Quebec, extended over the Illinois country, and he made attempts to meet the spiritual wants of the people from Vincennes to Kaskaskia; but the dangerous condition of the country prevented his accomplishing much, for he adhered to England, while the Rev. Mr. Gibault, and the Catholics in the Illinois country, had recognized the United States, as their fellow believers had done in the East.

The whole Catholic body in the United States was quick-



RT. REV. JOHN FRANCIS HUBERT, BISHOP OF QUEBEC.

ened by hope of better days, and showed by their unswerving fidelity from first to last how well they deserved them. Their clergy had never used any influence except for the national cause, and the Rev. John Carroll was regarded as the representative man among them. The American priests sympathized like their kinsmen in the struggle; the German priests had no attachment and no tie to bind them to England, and even the few born in Great Britain, who might easily have left the country by entering the English lines, clung to their flocks and to the land which

Providence had appointed for their final labors. Not one left this country.[1]

One priest in the West had during the war shown an active zeal and energy in the cause of America. This was the Rev. Peter Gibault. We have seen the early labors of this priest, who was sent to aid Father Meurin in his great work, as he labored to maintain the principles of religion in the hearts of the rude frontiermen. Succeeding Father Meurin at Kaskaskia, he sought to revive religion in the hearts of his somewhat lawless flock. Vincennes was without a priest; Phillibert, who bore the sobriquet of d'Orleans, was notary and guardian of the church. He gave private baptism to the children, made entry of the mutual consent of persons desiring to be married, and buried the dead. In this he does not

[1] The assertion of Bancroft, v., p. 295, that "the great mass of its (the Roman Church's) members who were chiefly newcomers in the Middle States, followed the influence of the Jesuits," "who cherished hatred of France for her share in the overthrow of their order," is utterly ungrounded. The Catholic priests are all known: there is no charge of Tory proclivities against any one of them. Tory writers like Smyth and Eddy, familiar with Maryland, where most of the priests were, never claim the Catholic clergy as friendly to their side. Maryland historians tell of Tory influence and even insurrection, but this was in places on the Eastern Shore where there were no Catholics, priest or laymen. The list of those outlawed or punished as tories in Maryland contains no names recognizable as those of Catholics. The Pennsylvania Black List is singularly free from Catholic names, and Sabine's Loyalists gives no Catholic. This stigma on the Catholic body is a blot on the great historian's work, and it would be interesting to know from what local authority as to the priests in Maryland and Pennsylvania he derived this libel on the character of the purest of men.

Wharton, though he renounced the Catholic faith, acknowledged that his Catholic countrymen were true to the national cause. "Far from wishing to embitter the minds of their fellow-citizens against the Roman Catholics of America, he is proud to see them elevated to that equal respectability to which as zealous supporters of their country's freedom, and as a Christian Society, they are essentially entitled."—A Reply to the Address to the Roman Catholics, Philadelphia, 1785, p. 97.

seem to have had any special powers as in the case of the Acadians. It was not till March 7, 1775, that we see Rev. Mr. Gibault baptizing, marrying, and interring the faithful at Vincennes.[1] It was, however, only a short visit, and he did not return to the little town on the Wabash, so far as the Register shows, till June, 1777.

Soon after his return to his residence at Kaskaskia, the Illinois country became involved in the great struggle which began at Lexington. The English by their forts at Detroit, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes controlled the West, and thence instigated the Indians to lay waste the frontiers of the Atlantic States. Colonel George Rogers Clark proposed to the Virginia government an expedition to capture the posts and secure the country. Receiving the necessary authority he assembled a small force, and pushing through the woods with great caution and secrecy, surprised Kaskaskia, on the night of July 4, 1778, taking Rocheblave, the commander, and his garrison prisoners. The people were at first not inclined to submit, but the Rev. Mr. Gibault, better informed as to the dispute between England and her colonies, saw that the interest of his flock required that they should join the Americans,—a wise decision, since Illinois, exposed to attack from the Continental troops on the east and the Spaniards on the west, could not depend on English aid. When he asked Clark whether he "would give him liberty to perform his duty in his church," "I told him," says the American commander, "that I had nothing to do with churches, more than to defend them from insult. That by the laws of the State, his religion had as great privileges as any other." The little town was soon enthusiastic over the change, the oath of allegiance was taken, and by the influence of the people of Kas-

[1] "Registre du Poste Vincennes."

kaskia, Cahokia also acknowledged the new rule. Friendly intercourse was at once opened with the Spanish authorities on the western bank of the Mississippi, and the Illinois country was delivered from all fear of attack. Clark then proposed to march upon Vincennes, but the Rev. Mr. Gibault, to convince the American officer of his attachment, offered to undertake to win that town for him, if Clark would permit him and a few of his people to go; he had no doubt of gaining their friends at Vincennes to the American side. Rev. Mr. Gibault set out with Dr. Lefont, the physician at Kaskaskia, and a few others, bearing a proclamation issued by Col. Clark. The influence of the priest was sufficient, and he soon returned with the welcome tidings that Vincennes had raised the American flag.[1] The effect on the Indian tribes was great. Seeing that the French and the missionary accepted the friendship of the Virginians, the Kaskaskias, Peorias, and Michigameas proposed peace; and when Clark sent a messenger to the Kickapoos and Piankeshaws, near Vincennes, they also agreed to lay down their arms. The tribes in the northwest hearing the result soon came to propose peace. Thus the frontiers were at once relieved from most of the Indian depredations, and the French settlers in the West became citizens of the United States; that this was effected by Clark without the loss of a single man was due mainly to the influence of Rev. Peter Gibault.

The English could not see so large a district wrested from them without making an effort to regain it. Celoron, at Fort Ouiatenon, prepared to begin a campaign, but fled on the approach of a detachment. Hamilton, with a large force from Detroit, however, occupied Vincennes, and menaced

[1] Hamilton to Carleton, August 8, 1778. Brymner, "Report on Archives," 1882, p. 17.

Kaskaskia. Clark sent Rev. Mr. Gibault across the Mississippi with the public papers and money, and the patriotic priest set out in January, 1779, attended by a single man, and was detained three days on a little island by the floating ice. When Clark, informed by Francis Vigo, an Italian merchant, of the real state of affairs at Vincennes, resolved to attack Hamilton, Rev. Mr. Gibault was again active,[1] and Clark marched out, part of his force consisting of two companies of the Catholic citizens of Illinois, commanded by Captains McCarthy of Cahokia and Francis Charleville. Before they left Kaskaskia, Rev. Mr. Gibault addressed them, and gave his parishioners absolution. Vincennes was taken after a sharp action, in which the Catholic soldiers did their duty manfully, and the old mission Indians gave valuable aid. Before the little church at Vincennes, Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton surrendered the place. "No man," says Judge Law, "has paid a more sincere tribute to the services rendered by Rev. Mr. Gibault to the American cause than Clark himself." "The services he rendered Clark in that campaign were acknowledged by a resolution of the Legislature of Virginia in 1780." "Next to Clark and Vigo, the United States are indebted more to Father Gibault, for the accession of the States, comprised in what was the original Nothwestern Territory, than to any other man." With this testimony, the historian of the Church may speak of the "good man and pure patriot," Rev. Peter Gibault, "his patriotism, his sacrifices, his courage and love of liberty."[2]

[1] Hamilton was extremely anxious to seize Rev. Mr. Gibault. Letter to Haldimand, December 28, 1778. Ib., p. 24.

[2] Law, "The Colonial History of Vincennes," Vincennes, 1858, pp. 53–5; "Colonel George Rogers Clark's Sketch of his Campaign in the Illinois," Cincinnati, 1869, pp. 33–65.

The Illinois country, reduced to the authority of the United States, was by the Act of 1774, and by its settlement, part of Canada; England had never recognized, nor did the Continental Congress recognize, the claim of any of the States to it, but Virginia at once assumed to annex it to her territory, and in 1778 organized it as the County of Illinois, placing it under the control of a Lieutenant Commandant. Under this extension of Virginia rule some of the barbarous punishments, hitherto unknown to the French Catholics and never witnessed in Canada, were inflicted. Slaves or servants convicted of killing or attempting to kill their masters were burned alive. Two such cases are recorded in a volume kept by Todd, the Virginia commandant. Gross dishonesty in a modern writer has attempted to make the Rev. Mr. Gibault,[1] the only priest then in the Illinois country, and the Catholic Church at large, responsible for this hideous Virginia system, and to transform it into a case of witchcraft punished through the influence of the Catholic Church: but Todd's record says nothing of witchcraft. The Church had nothing whatever to do with the matter.

The Virginia rule, unfounded in right, proved far from beneficial to the people. Congress at last took a step to put an end to the conflicting claims by passing on the 13th of July, 1787, "An Ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States, northwest of the River Ohio." This organic act saved "to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincent's, and the neighbouring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now

[1] E. Mallet, "Very Rev. Pierre Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the West," in "Washington Catholic," September 30, 1782. As to Virginia's claim to Illinois, see N. Y. Revolutionary Papers, i., p. 145.

in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property."

After Spain declared war against England, Don Bernardo Galvez, Governor of Louisiana, began operations against the English on the Gulf of Mexico. He surprised Fort Manchac September 7, 1779, compelled Baton Rouge to surrender on the 21st, and with it Fort Panmure at Natchez. Following up this success he invested Mobile in the following spring, and that city yielded March 12, 1780. Then after a vigorous siege he reduced Pensacola in May.[1] Thus in all Western Florida and the English portion of Louisiana up to Natchez, the Catholic Church recovered all its former right and dignity.

The parish register of Mobile, kept hitherto in French, begins at this point in Spanish with this heading:

"On the 12th day of March, 1780, the fort of Mobile surrendered to his Catholic Majesty, the General of the Expedition being the Brigadier Don Bernardo de Galvez, knight pensioner in the Royal and distinguished order of Charles III., Governor of the Province of Louisiana, Colonel of the permanent regiment thereof, etc., and Don José Espeleta, Colonel of the Infantry Regiment of Navarre, having remained as commandant of said fort and its district, he determined that the parish of this city should be called Purissima Conception—Immaculate Conception."

Father Salvador de la Esperanza, a Mercedarian religious, was left as parish priest, and the services of the Catholic Church were restored to all their former pomp and solemnity. Father Salvador remained till near the close of the

[1] "Account of the Expedition of Don Bernardo de Galvez," American Museum, xii.; App., ii. Brewer, "Alabama, Her History, Resources," etc. Montgomery, 1872, p. 886, says the 14th, but the Register may be relied on.

year, his last entry being on the 2d of November. In June of the succeeding year he was succeeded by the Capuchin Father, Charles de Velez, who signs as parish priest to March 23, 1782. On the 10th of December, 1783, Father Francis Notario, a Dominican, signs as parish priest, followed Nov. 12, 1784, by the Capuchin Father, Joseph de Arazena.[1]

After Galvez invested Pensacola with a fleet and army and compelled its surrender May 8, 1781, there, too, a new Register was begun by the Capuchin Father, Peter de Velez, as Beneficed Parish Priest of St. Michael's at Panzacola and Chaplain to the Garrison. His first act was the burial of Anthony Soler, July 4, 1781, and the first baptism that of Diego John Michael, son of John Francis Florin and his wife Catharine Alois, on the 31st of July. Father Velez belonged to the Capuchin province of Andalucia, and retained his position in the parish till June, 1787, assisted from the summer of 1785 by the Capuchin Father, Stephen de Valoria, who succeeded him.[2] While Catholicity thus regained its freedom and authority in Western Florida under the Spanish flag, the little colony of Minorcans, who kept religion alive at New Smyrna, had undergone vicissitudes. Although Dr. Turnbull had engaged himself in his contract to give the colonists who came over to cultivate his indigo plantations fifty acres of land for each head of a family and twenty-five for each child at the expiration of three years, he not only never fulfilled this stipulation, but treated the unfortunate people as

[1] Register of Mobile. In November, 1785, the Abbé de Lescuses signs in French as parish priest.

[2] "Libro primero de Asientos . . . de esta yglesia Parroq^{a} de San Miguel de Panzacola conquistada por las armas de N. C. M. comandadas por el Mariscal de Campo, el S^{r}. D^{n}. Bernardo de Galvez el dia ocho de Mayo, 1781 años." Colonel Arthur O'Neill was the first Spanish governor of Pensacola.

slaves, oppressing them with excessive labor, under which many died. The Rev. Dr. Peter Camps, their first parish priest, with his assistant, the Franciscan Father, Bartholomew de Casas Novas, erected the Church of San Pedro de Mosquitos. The register of the baptisms at his church, extending from August 25, 1768, and that of marriages in part, is still preserved. The Rev. Dr. Camps, in view of the difficulty of any visitation by the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, was empowered to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation for twenty years.[1]

Seeing their numbers thinned by cruelty and disease, the poor creatures rose against their cruel oppressor in 1769, but Dr. Turnbull was a member of the Colonial Council and the Governor was devoted to him. Five of the leaders were taken to St. Augustine, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. Two were actually hung, one of the others being compelled to act as hangman. The rest of the people were terrified by severe punishments, and their condition was rendered worse, if possible, than before. In 1777, when they should have been installed in farms of their own, they resolved to seek redress, and led by the brave carpenter, Francis Pellicer, they abandoned New Smyrna, and set out for St. Augustine, the old men, women, and children in the centre, the able-bodied men armed with sharpened poles. They numbered about six hundred, including two hundred children born in Florida. Governor Moultrie, more honest than his

[1] Dr. Camps, "Petition to the King," October 28, 1786. He then had been 16 years on the mission, without salary, and had kept his flock safe from loss by heresy. Notes from the archives of the Bishopric of Havana made by Rt. Rev. John Moore, D.D., Bishop of St. Augustine.

On the 17th of March, 1787, he was nominated for a canonry in Majorca, and October 26, 1784, was allowed a dollar a day. In his petition he asked leave to return to his native island of Minorca.

predecessor, examined the case, proceedings were instituted, their indentures were cancelled, and the survivors declared free from a contract which Dr. Turnbull on his side had failed to carry out. As the Minorcan colony did not wish to return to a spot where they had undergone such frightful sufferings, a part of the city of St. Augustine was assigned to them, and their descendants remain there to this day, adhering to the faith to which they clung. Two descendants of Pellicer have been adorned with episcopal mitres in the Church of the United States—Right Rev. Anthony Dominic Pellicer, Bishop of San Antonio, and Right Rev. Dominic Manucy, Bishop of Mobile and Vicar-Apostolic of Brownsville.

The Rev. Dr. Camps accompanied his flock on their pilgrimage from the land of bondage. He made in his Register the following entry:

"Note.—On the 9th day of November, 1777, the Church of San Pedro was translated from the settlement of Mosquito to the city of St. Augustine, with the same colony of Mahonese, which was established in said settlement, and the same parish priest and missionary apostolic, D^{r}. D^{n}. Pedro Camps.

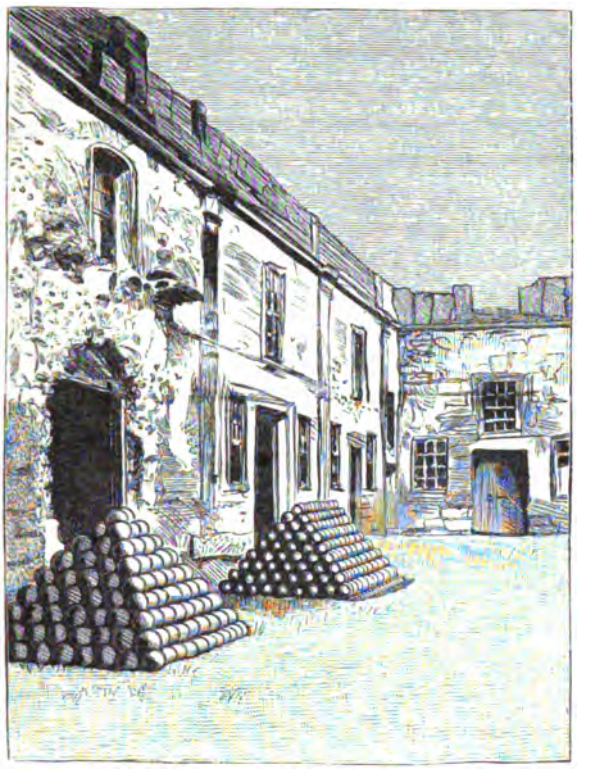
"Dr. Pedro Camps, parish priest."[1]

At St. Augustine the parish church restored by Bishop Tejada was in ruins, his house was used for the Church of England service, the Franciscan Convent was occupied by the troops, Nuestra Señora de la Leche was a ruin, the chapel in the fort defaced and desecrated. Doctor Camps was

[1] This is perhaps unexampled, the transfer of a parish from one place to another. Rev. Dr. Camps was still parish priest of Mosquito, and not of St. Augustine, so that when Spain recovered Florida he was not recognized as incumbent of St. Augustine, but another clergyman was appointed parish priest and Dr. Camps remained by his sanction to attend the Mahonese, though not regarded even as assistant.

without means to erect a chapel for his flock, who had been wronged of the fruit of their labor. He said mass in the house of Carrera, near the city gate.[1]

Though the British flag still floated over Eastern Florida, the strange series of events had restored Catholicity from St.



CHAPEL IN THE FORT AT ST. AUGUSTINE, DEFACED BY THE ENGLISH.

Augustine to Baton Rouge, and mass was regularly offered in Pensacola and Mobile.

[1] Henri de Courcy de La Roche-Héron, "La Ville de Saint Augustin," in the "Journal de Québec," March-April, 1856.

In the country subject to the Continental Congress the clergy continued their labors amid the trying times of the war, those in Maryland exposed to the depredations of British cruisers, which, entering the Chesapeake, ascended the Potomac, plundering plantations and inviting negro slaves to seek freedom under the protection of the English flag. The old Jesuit estates still held by the clergy were cultivated by slaves, the only form of labor to be obtained, but the rule of the clergy was so light that "a priest's negro" was a proverbial expression for a slave who was pretty much his own master. It was noticed and remarked that the negroes on the clergy plantations, instead of accepting the British invitations, fled from the plantations to avoid being carried off against their will.[1] Much damage was, however, done to their estates by the British cruisers, which never spared them in their predatory visits to the Chesapeake. St. George's Island was taken and held for a time by Lord Dunmore; the Rev. Mr. Hunter's house at Port Tobacco was menaced, and the priests' house at St. Inigoes showed, till its destruction by fire in our times, the hole made by a British cannon-ball which passed through the wall in Rev. Mr. Lewis' room, just above his bed. Their residence at Newtown, Md., was offered and used as a hospital for Continental soldiers.[2]

On the 16th of June, 1779, Maryland mourned the loss of the holy Father George Hunter, who expired at Port Tobacco in the 67th year of his age. "He was truly a holy man," wrote the future Bishop of Baltimore to his friend, Rev. Charles Plowden, "full of the Spirit of God and the

[1] Rev. J. Carroll, unpublished reply to Smyth.

[2] Woodstock Letters, iv., p. 67; Gov. Lee to Lafayette, April 8, 1781, in Scharf, "History of Maryland," ii., pp. 442–3.

zeal of souls. His death happened during the hot months last summer, which always had a terrible effect upon his health."

At this time Rev. Robert Molyneux was in Philadelphia, attending to the Catholics there and giving lessons in English to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, showing an active zeal in the



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. ROBERT MOLYNEUX.

education of his flock. A school had been maintained, and in 1781 a subscription was started for the purchase of the building and the lot on which it stood. The liberality of the people is shown in raising £180 3s. toward meeting the whole cost of four hundred pounds, and in a further subscription of £54 17s. 6d. toward the erection of a new school-house in the following year. This school was north of St. Mary's.[1] His associate, Rev. Ferdinand Farmer, still attended the missions in New Jersey. Rev. John Ashton was in Maryland. Rev. Ignatius Matthews succeeded Father Hunter at Port Tobacco, Rev. James Walton, and "that man



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. IGNATIUS MATTHEWS.

without guile," Rev. Austin Jenkins, at Newtown Manor, Rev. Mr. Carroll still serving his mission at Rock Creek.[2] Unable to obtain the Holy Oils as usual from England, and intercourse with Canada being likewise impracticable, the

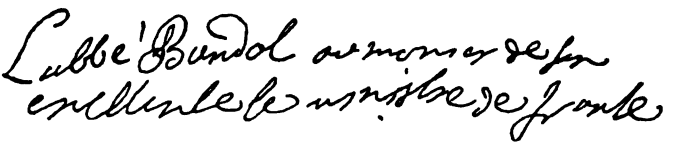
[1] Woodstock Letters, xiii., p. 38.

[2] Letter April 27, 1780; Woodstock Letters, vii., p. 75.

missionaries in Philadelphia applied to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, and oils were thence supplied with the consent of the King of Spain.[1]

When the combined armies of the United States and France forced Cornwallis to surrender at Yorktown, the Minister of France invited Congress, the Supreme Executive Council, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania and others to attend in the Roman Catholic Church at Philadelphia during the celebration of divine service and thanksgiving for the capture of the British commander.

A discourse was delivered on the occasion by the Franciscan Father Seraphin Bandol, chaplain to the Minister of France.



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF FATHER SERAPHIN BANDOL.

"Translation of a discourse delivered on the 4th instant, in the catholic church in this city, before the honourable the Congress, his Excellency the Minister of France, and many other gentlemen of distinction. By M. de Bandole, chaplain to the embassy of France:

"GENTLEMEN:—A numerous people assembled to render thanks to the Almighty for his mercies, is one of the most affecting objects, and worthy the attention of the Supreme Being. While camps resound with triumphal acclamations, while nations rejoice in victory and glory, the most honourable office a minister of the altars can fill, is to be the organ by which public gratitude is conveyed to the Omnipotent.

[1] Letter of Dr. José de Galvez, July 17, 1779, in reply to a letter of Dn. Juan de Miralles, May 16, 1779. I am indebted to Rt. Rev. Bishop Moore for this information.

"Those miracles which he once wrought for his chosen people are renewed in our favour; and it would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge, that the event which lately confounded our enemies and frustrated their designs, was the wonderful work of that God who guards your liberties.

"And who but he could so combine the circumstances which led to success? We have seen our enemies push forward amid perils almost innumerable, amid obstacles almost insurmountable, to the spot which was designed to witness their disgrace; yet they eagerly sought it as their theatre of triumph!

"Blind as they were, they bore hunger, thirst, and inclement skies, poured their blood in battle against brave republicans, and crossed immense regions to confine themselves in another Jericho, whose walls were fated to fall before another Joshua. It is he, whose voice commands the winds, the seas and the seasons, who formed a junction on the same day, in the same hour, between a formidable fleet from the south, and an army rushing from the north, like an impetuous torrent. Who but he, in whose hands are the hearts of men, could inspire the allied troops with the friendships, the confidence, the tenderness of brothers? How is it that two nations once divided, jealous, inimical, and nursed in reciprocal prejudices, are now become so closely united, as to form but one? Worldlings would say, it is the wisdom, the virtue, and moderation of their chiefs, it is a great national interest which has performed this prodigy. They will say, that to the skill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity of the whole army, we must attribute this splendid success. Ah! they are ignorant, that the combining of so many fortunate circumstances, is an emanation from the all perfect mind: that courage, that skill, that activity, bear the sacred impression of him who is divine.

"For how many favours have we not to thank him during the course of the present year? Your union, which was at first supported by justice alone, has been consolidated by your courage, and the knot which ties you together is become indissoluble, by the accession of all the states, and the unanimous voice of all the confederates. You present to the universe the noble sight of a society, which, founded in equality and justice, secures to the individuals who compose it, the utmost happiness which can be derived from human institutions. This advantage, which so many other nations have been unable to procure, even after ages of efforts and misery, is granted by divine providence to the United States; and his adoreable decrees have marked the present moment for the completion of that memorable happy revolution, which has taken place in this extensive continent. While your counsels were thus acquiring new energy, rapid multiplied successes have crowned your arms in the southern states.

"We have seen the unfortunate citizens of these states forced from their peaceful abodes; after a long and cruel captivity, old men, women and children, thrown, without mercy, into a foreign country. Master of their lands and their slaves, amid his temporary affluence, a superb victor rejoiced in their distresses. But Philadelphia has witnessed their patience and fortitude; they have found here another home, and though driven from their native soil they have blessed God, that he has delivered them from their presence, and conducted them to a country where every just and feeling man has stretched out the helping hand of benevolence. Heaven rewards their virtues. Three large states are at once wrested from their foe. The rapacious soldier has been compelled to take refuge behind his ramparts, and oppression has vanished like those phantoms which are dissipated by the morning ray.

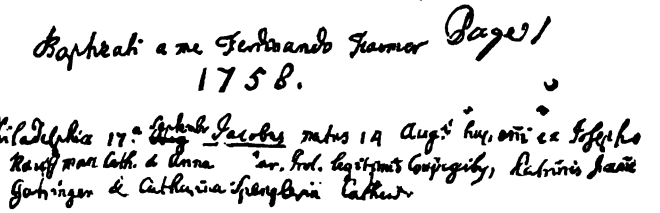
"On this solemn occasion, we might renew our thanks to the God of battles, for the success he has granted to the arms of your allies and your friends by land and by sea, through the other parts of the globe. But let us not recal those events which too clearly prove how much the hearts of our enemies have been obdurated. Let us prostrate ourselves at the altar, and implore the God of mercy to suspend his vengeance, to spare them in his wrath, to inspire them with sentiments of justice and moderation, to terminate their obstinacy and error, and to ordain that your victories be followed by peace and tranquility. Let us beseech him to continue to shed on the counsels of the king your ally, that spirit of wisdom, of justice, and of courage, which has rendered his reign so glorious. Let us entreat him to maintain in each of the states that intelligence by which the united states are inspired. Let us return him thanks that a faction, whose rebellion he has corrected, now deprived of support, is annihilated. Let us offer him pure hearts, unsoiled by private hatred or public dissention, and let us, with one will and one voice, pour forth to the Lord that hymn of praise by which christians celebrate their gratitude and his glory."[1]

In 1781 Father Farmer again visited his scattered flock in New Jersey. Starting in Burlington County in February, this indefatigable missionary, still active for his advanced years, visited Salem and Gloucester Counties in April, and then in May was in the northern part of the State, in the iron district around the beautiful sheet now known as Greenwood Lake, but then called by the more prosaic title of Long

[1] "Pa. Packet or the General Advertiser," November 27, 1781, No. 812. The Abbé Bandol remained some years after the war, attached to the French embassy, and returned to France in the spring of 1788. He had been 10 years here. (Letter of Very Rev. Dr. Carroll to the Nuncio at Paris, March 5, 1788.)

Pond, and down to Pompton Plains. In June and July he was again at Philadelphia and in Lower Jersey; then in September, crossing to Greenwich, N. J., he made his way to Mount Hope, Greenwood Lake, Ringwood, and hearing of Canadian and Acadian Catholics at Fishkill, passed through the valley by a well-known route. We can conceive the joy of these forlorn Catholics at the sudden appearance of a priest. He records the baptism of fourteen near Fishkill, in New York, with names like Monly, Merlet, Porteau, Ferriole, Bouvet, Lafleur, Pollin, Constantin, Feniole, Varly, Guilmet. Carrying his chapel service as he did, we may infer that he said mass, at this time, October, 1781, in the Canadian camp near Fishkill.

He returned by way of Ringwood and Pompton, but before the end of the month was at Cohanzy, in Salem County. The baptisms of the year performed by this wonderful missionary numbered 170. The next year he twice traversed New Jersey from Cohanzy to Greenwood, baptizing 129. In 1783 we trace him again as he plods through the State, till the close of June, on his mission to keep alive the faith among the Catholics. In the autumn he made his way again to Fishkill, where he remained from the last day of October to the fourth of November. He probably entered New York



FAC-SIMILE OF REGISTER OF FATHER FARMER.

City at once after its evacuation by the British troops on the 25th of that month.[1]

[1] Register of Rev. Ferdinand Farmer.

According to some French works a Cistercian Father, Dom Gauthey, published in Philadelphia in 1783 a prospectus inviting subscriptions for a system of conveying messages by means of tubes, but investigation has not obtained any proof of the presence in this country of the scientific priest, thus recognized as the inventor of the speaking tube.[1]

[1] The Records of the American Philosophical Society contain no allusion to such a proposal, and no copy of the Prospectus has yet been found.



CHALICE USED BY ARCHBISHOP CARROLL.

CHAPTER V.

THE CLERGY IN THE UNITED STATES SOLICIT A SUPERIOR FROM THE POPE—THE FRENCH INTRIGUE—DR. CARROLL'S CONTROVERSY WITH WHARTON—HE IS APPOINTED PREFECT-APOSTOLIC.

DURING the continuance of the conflict between Great Britain and the United States, direct intercourse between the two countries was, of course, suspended, and from an early period of the Revolutionary war, correspondence, even by way of France or Belgium, became almost impossible.

Before the close of the war the venerable Bishop Challoner died on the 10th of January, 1781, and the Rt. Rev. James Talbot, who had been consecrated Bishop of Birtha, on the 24th of August, 1759, and had from that time acted as coadjutor, became Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, with jurisdiction over the faithful in the United States. "But," as Dr. Carroll subsequently wrote, "whether he would hold no correspondence with a country which he perhaps considered as in a state of rebellion, or whether a natural indolence and irresolution restrained him, the fact is, that he held no kind of intercourse with priest or layman in this part of his charge. Before the breaking out of the war, his predecessor had appointed a Vicar, the Rev. Mr. Lewis, and he governed the mission of America during the Bishop's silence." [1]

Bishop Talbot went further; when in 1783 the Revs. John Boone and Henry Pile, two Maryland priests belonging to the suppressed Society, who had been unable to return to their native land during the war, applied to the Bishop

[1] Carroll, "Sketch of Catholicity in the U. S."

for faculties, he refused to give them, and declared that he would exercise no jurisdiction in the United States. These two priests apparently then wrote to the Propaganda for faculties, and thus brought the condition of affairs in the United States before the Head of the Church.[1]

The Maryland clergy, fearful of exciting prejudice against themselves, made no attempt to restore the dependence on England; all their writings show that they desired only to have a local Superior chosen from their own body, and subject directly to the Pope.

Yet for a few priests, all members of an order so recently suppressed by one of the Sovereign Pontiffs, to obtain a hearing or favor at Rome, seemed almost impossible, the more especially as the country had no ambassador at Rome to lay the matter before the Holy See. But this consideration did not prevent their taking action.

Left to themselves, the clergy in Maryland and Pennsylvania, after the suppression of the Society of Jesus was formally notified to them, lived under provisional and informal regulations. The regulations or statutes of the Vicariate-Apostolic of London were not apparently communicated to them or enforced.

After Rev. John Carroll arrived in 1774, no other priest came over from Europe, the war which followed preventing further intercourse with England. Rev. Anthony Carroll, who accompanied him, returned to Europe the next year; Rev. Matthias Manners died at Bohemia, June 15, 1775; Rev. Arnold Livers at St. Inigoes, August 16, 1777; Rev. George Hunter at St. Thomas', August 1, 1779; Rev. Peter Morris at Newtown, November 19, 1782. Thus had their little band been fearfully thinned in less than ten years.

[1] Roman memorandum on a letter from Maryland to the Propaganda, November 10, 1783. The two priests came over in 1784 (Foley, Treacy).

With the peace in 1783 came the Rev. Leonard Neale, destined to exercise a great influence in his native land as priest, Vicar-General, Coadjutor Bishop, and finally Archbishop of Baltimore, as well as founder and director of the first Monastery of Visitation Nuns in this country. Leonard Neale, son of William and Anne Neale, was born October 15, 1746, at their mansion near Port Tobacco, in Charles County, of a family long settled in the Province of Maryland, the founder of this family, Captain James Neale, having arrived here before 1642, when we find him privy councillor. His wife had been one of the maids of honor to Queen Henrietta Maria, and the name of the consort of King Charles I. was perpetuated for generations in the family of Neale. Captain Neale had lived for some years in Spanish and Portuguese territory, and four of his children, born out of England, were naturalized in Maryland after his arrival.[1]

Young Leonard was sent to Europe at the age of 12 by his widowed mother; he entered the Jesuit College at St. Omer and continued his academic course there and at Bruges and Liege. Feeling, like several of his family, that he was called to serve God in the religious state, he entered the Society of Jesus at Ghent on the 7th of September, 1767. When the Society was suppressed six years afterward he was a priest and pursuing his third year in theology at Liege. He purposed returning to America, but undertook a mission in England. After a time, finding that a field for missionaries was opened in Demerara, he offered to serve in that unhealthy colony, where the authorities allowed no public worship to Catholics. On the 4th of May, 1780, he obtained faculties for the mission from the Most Rev. Ignatius Busca,

[1] Davis, "Day Star of American Freedom," New York, 1855, pp. 85, 150, 243, 268.

Archbishop of Emesa and Apostolic Nuncio at Brussels. He probably reached Demerara the same year and labored with zeal among the Indians and the colonists, addressing a report on his labors to the Prefect of the Propaganda in 1782. He is said to have left Demerara in January, 1783, having resolved to labor in his own country. On his home voyage he fell into the hands of British cruisers, but arrived in Maryland in April. He was welcomed by his missionary brethren there, as well as by his kindred, and after attending the meeting called at Whitemarsh, was stationed at Port Tobacco.

The priests in Maryland and Pennsylvania had long felt the want of some organization to preserve the property then in the hands of individuals, and to maintain some form of discipline till the Holy See provided for the wants of the Church in the United States.

A letter was addressed by several of the clergy to the Rev. John Lewis, who still continued to act as Vicar-General of the Vicar-Apostolic of London. In this they asked him to attend a meeting which they regarded as absolutely necessary for the preservation and well-government of all matters and concerns of the clergy, and the service of religion in this country. As Rev. Mr. Lewis concurred willingly, the meeting was called at Whitemarsh, Maryland, on the 27th of June, 1783. It was attended by the Revs. John Carroll, John Ashton, Charles Sewell, Bernard Diderick, Sylvester Boarman, and Leonard Neale, the last representing also the Revs. Ignatius Matthews, Louis Roels, and John Bolton, who were unable to attend.

At this meeting views were interchanged, and the plan of a form of government was submitted. This was then communicated to all the priests in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and as it was found not easy to bring all together, districts were formed, from each of which the clergy were to send



MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL.

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

Entered according to Act of Congress 1858



MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL,

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1884

delegates. Meanwhile the clergy of the Southern District, meeting at Newtown, September 23, 1783, to the number of seven, two being absent, suggested several amendments to the Plan and Rules, and showed less jealousy of the Superior in spirituals[1] than had been manifested at the general meeting.

The delegates of the Districts met at Whitemarsh on the 6th of November, and were the Rev. John Lewis for the Northern District, comprising Pennsylvania and the Eastern Shore of Maryland; John Carroll and Bernard Diderick for the Middle District, comprising the Western Shore of Maryland, exclusive of St. Mary's and Charles Counties, which formed the Southern District, represented by Rev. Ignatius Matthews and Rev. James Walton.

The plan was here thoroughly discussed and revised; but the final adoption was deferred to a future meeting.

About this time, and evidently under some resolution then adopted, a committee consisting of the Revs. John Lewis, Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, James Walton, and John Carroll were appointed to prepare a petition to the Pope, asking that the Rev. John Lewis should be formally constituted Superior and invested with power to administer confirmation, bless chalices, and impart faculties to the priests in the mission.

The Superior, Rev. John Lewis, enjoyed the respect of all missionaries, and Dr. Carroll wrote of him: "It is happy that the present Superior is a person free from every selfish view and ambition," and at this time no other Superior seems to have been desired.

The petition to the Sovereign Pontiff was in these words:

[1] Proceedings at a meeting of the Southern District of the Clergy, September 23, 1783.





MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL.

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1856

"MOST HOLY FATHER:

"We, John Lewis, Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, James Walton, and John Carroll, missionary priests, residing in the Thirteen United States of North America, assembled together from the neighboring stations to take counsel for the good of the missions, our fellow-priests residing in the more remote parts of this mission, agreeing herein and approving by letter, in our name and in the common name of our brethren, with all respect represent to your Holiness, that we, placed under the recent supreme dominion of United America, can no longer have recourse, as formerly, for necessary spiritual jurisdiction to the Bishops and Vicars-Apostolic residing in different and foreign States (for this has very frequently been intimated to us in very positive terms by the rulers of this Republic), nor recognize any one of them as our ecclesiastical Superior, without open offense of this supreme civil magistracy and political government, Wherefore we, placed in this difficult position, have recourse to your Holiness, humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe to confirm anew the ecclesiastical Superior whom we now have, namely, John Lewis, a priest already approved and confirmed by the Vicar-Apostolic of London, to whom this whole mission was subject before the change of political government, and to delegate to him the power of granting the necessary faculties to priests coming into these missions, as it shall seem expedient; that said Superior may delegate this power to at least one or more of the most suitable missionaries as the necessity and distance of time and place may require.

"Moreover, as there is no Bishop in these regions, who can bless the holy oils, of which we were deprived for several years during the confusion of the war, no one to bless the chalices and altar stones needed, no one to administer the sacrament of confirmation, we humbly beseech your Holiness to em-

power the said John Lewis, priest, Superior, to perform these things in the present necessity, and until otherwise provided for this mission by your Holiness, that our faithful, living in many dangers, may be no longer deprived of the Sacrament of Confirmation nor die without Extreme Unction according to the rite of the Church.

"Moreover, we also pray your Holiness to bestow on this mission the indulgences of the Jubilee, and to extend to the missionaries the ample faculties which may seem seasonable in these vast and remote regions racked by a long bitter war, where on account of the constant military movements, neither the Jubilee on the exaltation of your Holiness to the See of Peter, nor the Jubilee of the year 1775, could be promulgated, much less celebrated or enjoyed.

"This, Most Holy Father, is what we the aforesaid petitioners, missionary priests in these regions of United North America, humbly solicit from your Holiness' supreme wisdom and providence for the good of the Catholic religion."[1]

This petition was forwarded through Cardinal Borromeo, and was evidently presented, as it is in the Roman Archives. When its tenor became known, fears were entertained that it was not sufficiently respectful, and another petition somewhat similar in purport, but asking the appointment of a Superior to be elected by them, declaring that the United States would not permit a Bishop, and specifying the faculties and certain offices which the clergy desired to recite, was drawn up and forwarded to Rome, but apparently arrived only in time to be used as evidence of the respect of the American clergy.[2]

Rev. Mr. Carroll was not only one of the committee appointed to draw up this memorial, but was requested to send

[1] Archives of the Propaganda, Rome.

[2] Petition in Archives of the See of Baltimore.

it to a friend at Rome through whom it might be presented to the Sovereign Pontiff. The memorial was signed by Rev. Mr. Lewis, and in transmitting it, the Rev. Mr. Carroll wrote: "You are not ignorant that in these United States our religious system has undergone a revolution, if possible, more extraordinary than our political one. In all of them free toleration is allowed to Christians of every denomination; and particularly in the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, a communication of all civil rights, without distinction or diminution, is extended to those of our religion. This is a blessing and advantage which it is our duty to preserve and improve, with the utmost prudence, by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our government and avoiding to give any jealousies on account of any dependence on foreign jurisdictions more than that which is essential to our religion, an acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual supremacy over the whole Christian world. You know that we of the clergy have heretofore resorted to the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District for the exercise of spiritual powers, but being well acquainted with the temper of Congress, of our assemblies and the people at large, we are firmly of opinion that we shall not be suffered to continue under such a jurisdiction whenever it becomes known to the publick. You may be assured of this from the following fact. The clergy of the Church of England were heretofore subject to the Bishop of London, but the umbrage taken at this dependence was so great, that notwithstanding the power and prevalence of that sect they could find no other method to allay jealousies, than by withdrawing themselves as they have lately done, from all obedience to him.

"Being therefore thus circumstanced, we think it not only adviseable in us, but in a manner obligatory, to solicit the

Holy See to place the episcopal powers, at least such as most essential, in the hands of one amongst us, whose virtue, knowledge, and integrity of faith, shall be certified by ourselves. We shall annex to this letter such powers as we judge it absolutely necessary he should be invested with. We might add many very cogent reasons for having amongst them, a person thus empowered, and for want of whom it is impossible to conceive the inconvenience happening every day. If it be possible to obtain a grant from Rome for vesting these powers in our Superior *pro tempore*, it would be most desirable. We shall endeavor to have you aided in this application, by a recommendation, if possible, from our own country and the minister of France. You will know how to avail yourself of so favorable a Russian minister at Rome; and if Mr. Thorpe will be pleased to undertake the management of the business there, we will with cheerfulness and gratitude answer all expenses which he may incur in the prosecution of it. He will be the judge, how and whether the annexed petition ought in prudence to be presented to His Holiness, but at all events the powers therein contained, are those which we wish our Superior to be invested with."[1]

But while the Catholic clergy in the United States were thus, in a legitimate way, applying to the Sovereign Pontiff for the appointment of a Superior, and giving intelligent expression to the wants of the clergy and people, the post of Superior is said to have been offered to an Irish priest, and a scheme had been formed, apparently in the French embassy at Philadelphia, to impose on American Catholics a French bishop residing in Europe.[1]

[1] In an additional memorandum in French, appended in the archives at Rome to the well-known note of the Nuncio, is the following: "There

Before the memorial of the Catholic clergy in America had been expedited, the Nuncio of the Pope at Paris, Prince Pamphilo Doria, Archbishop of Seleucia, had been approached to obtain his favor for the project. Acting in ignorance of the real condition of affairs in the United States, the representative of the Pope addressed to Benjamin Franklin the following, in which the idea of a French superior is clearly indicated, and the spiritual government of Catholics viewed as a matter to be settled by the King of France and Congress:

"The Nuncio Apostolic has the honor to transmit to Mr. Franklin the subjoined note. He requests him to cause it to be presented to the Congress of the United States of North America, and to support it with his influence.

"July 28, 1783.

"NOTE.—Previous to the revolution which has just been completed in the United States of North America, the Catholics and missionaries of those provinces depended, in spiritual matters, on the Vicar-Apostolic residing in London. It is now evident that this arrangement can be no longer maintained, but, as it is necessary that the Catholic Christians of the United States should have an ecclesiastic to govern them

exist in France four establishments of English monks whose total revenues may amount to 50 or 60,000 livres. These monks (moines) are few in number. The want of subjects renders those who are left at least useless. It might be possible for the King of France, in order to gratify the Court of Rome, and bring closer the bonds of friendship with the United States, to permit these establishments to be used to form, instruct and in part maintain the ecclesiastics to be employed in America. To attain the object better, it would be advantageous that one of the Bishops named by the Holy See, should be a subject of the King and reside in France, always at hand to act in concert with his Holiness and the American Minister and adopt with them, means to form ecclesiastics agreeable to Congress, and useful to American Catholics." What a scheme for the enslavement of Catholics in this country!

in matters pertaining to religion, the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, existing at Rome, for the establishment and preservation of missions, have come to the determination to propose to Congress to establish in one of the cities of the United States of North America, one of their Catholic brethren, with the authority and power of Vicar-Apostolic and dignity of Bishop, or simply with the rank of Apostolic Prefect. The institution of a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic appears the most suitable, inasmuch as the Catholics of the United States may have within their reach the reception of Confirmation and Orders in their own country. And as it may sometimes happen that among the members of the Catholic body in the United States, no one may be found qualified to undertake the charge of the spiritual government, either as Bishop or Prefect-Apostolic, it may be necessary under such circumstances, that Congress should consent to have one selected from some foreign nation on close terms of friendship with the United States." [1]

The Nuncio also transmitted to the French minister in the United States a letter addressed to the Senior Catholic missionary. Later in the year, on the 15th of December, Dr. Franklin, though he saw that Congress could not interfere, wrote from Passy to the Count de Vergennes, prime minister of France:

"SIR:—I understand that the Bishop or Spiritual person who superintends or governs the Roman Catholic clergy in the United States of America, resides in London,[2] and is supposed to be under obligations to that Court, and subject to

[1] "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution," Boston, 1829, iv., pp. 158–9.

[2] At this time the Vicar-Apostolic in London had exercised no authority for eight years, and, as we have seen, actually disavowed any jurisdiction in the United States.

be influenced by its Ministers. This gives me some uneasiness, and I cannot but wish that one should be appointed to that office, who is of this nation and who may reside here among our friends. I beg your Excellency to think a little of this matter and to afford me your counsels upon it. With the greatest respect, I am,

"Sir,

"Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

But for the positive evidence we could scarcely believe that Dr. Franklin lent himself to a plan for treating his Catholic countrymen in this manner and helping a conspiracy to subject them not to a Superior chosen from among themselves, but to one nominated by the French court and residing in France.

A letter of Barbé Marbois, French Minister to the United States, indicates that the whole scheme originated with him; it represents the Catholics in America as having been directed during the war by Jesuits who favored the British,[1] and spoke of the rancor of the Jesuits against the house of Bourbon.[2]

[1] This is Bancroft's rendering of Marbois, who wrote, "The Catholics, always directed by the Jesuits in this country, have been ill-disposed to the Revolution; they are not better disposed toward us." "La Revolution" does not mean the American Revolution at all, but the Voltairean ideas of the day, and to make it mean "favored the British," shows——

[2] Marbois to Vergennes, 27th March, 1785, cited in Bancroft, "History of the Formation of the Constitution," New York, 1885. It is inconceivable how Mr. Bancroft could have adopted this silly and mendacious nonsense for history and used it to malign his own countrymen. The English Jesuits suffered mainly from the Austro-Belgian government, not from the Bourbons. Not a line written by them shows any such rancor as Barbé Marbois invents; and not a priest who had been a member of the suppressed Society in this country favored the British during the war.

The Count de Vergennes, on receiving Franklin's letter, made a memorandum, which shows that he did not adopt the idea of a Vicar-Apostolic for the United States residing in Paris. He knew somewhat of the Catholic Church, if Franklin did not.[1]

The French minister consulted the Archbishop of Bordeaux, whom Franklin had already approached, and the Bishop of Autun in regard to the matter. Monseigneur Cicé, Archbishop of Bordeaux, replied with great prudence and caution.

"I regard it a duty, Count," he wrote, "to inform you of the proposition just made me by Mr. Franklin. The object is to secure to religion among the Catholics in the United States, more order and facility in the number and choice of ministers necessary for them. I reasonably presume that in this matter Mr. Franklin is the interpreter of the wishes of his Catholic fellow-citizens. He seems to desire, that to attain more securely what they propose, they should have in France a titled ecclesiastic, appointed to provide for the wants of the Church."[2]

Doctor Franklin, so far from being the interpreter of the wishes of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, was acting without their knowledge, and to their detriment, as well as in direct opposition to their petition to the Pope.

The American envoy evidently did not see the object of the intrigue, or he might have obtained information for the Nuncio. As it was, the documents were transmitted by him to the Continental Congress, and reached that body, when it

[1] His memorandum is, "Mr. Franklin represente que l'Evêque chargé de la direction du clergé Catholique en Amérique résidant à Londres, il est de notre interret de nommer à cette place une personne qui puisse demeurer dans les Etats Unis."

[2] Mgr. de Cicé to Vergennes, December 27, 1783.

contained no Catholic member, Daniel Carroll's term of three years having just expired, and Thomas Fitzsimons, the Catholic member from Pennsylvania, having resigned his seat. The reply of Congress was made without the knowledge of the Catholic body and on no representation of their position and wants. The determination of Congress was not guided by those Catholic gentlemen, who would have indignantly exposed the attempt of intriguing men to force an alien Superior on the Church in this country after slandering the Catholics and their clergy.

On the 11th of May, 1784, as we read in the "Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress," it was "Resolved, That doctor Franklin be desired to notify to the apostolical nuncio at Versailles, that Congress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his sovereign and state; but that the subject of his application to doctor Franklin, being purely spiritual, it is without the jurisdiction and powers of Congress, who have no authority to permit or refuse it, these powers being reserved to the several states individually."[1]

Meanwhile information of the French intrigue reached the former English associates of the American missionaries. The Rev. Charles Plowden at once wrote to Dr. Franklin, and the Rev. Messrs. Sewall and Mattingly, natives of Maryland, then in England, also wrote to that American minister, "to expose to him the degree of respect and consideration due to the missionaries now in America, and to desire that no proposals might be admitted without the participation and consent of you in particular," wrote Rev. Mr. Plowden to Dr. Carroll, "and of the other missioners and the principal Catholic gentry in the country."[2]

[1] "Secret Journal of Congress,' Boston, 1821, vol. iii., p. 493.

[2] Rev. Charles Plowden to Rev. John Carroll, September 2, 1784, in

The information thus given must have opened the eyes of Dr. Franklin, and as he had formed a high estimate of Rev. Mr. Carroll during the mission to Canada, he must have felt not a little chagrined to find himself made even indirectly the medium of impeaching the loyalty of the Carrolls and other patriotic American Catholics, priests and laymen. It is certain that he at once determined that sound policy required him to favor the appointment of an American missionary as Superior of the Catholics in the United States, and he certainly from this time exerted all his influence to press the appointment of Rev. Mr. Carroll, to whose qualifications he could bring the testimony of personal knowledge and daily intercourse for a considerable period.[1]

Barbé Marbois soon wrote that the project of nominating a French priest must be abandoned, but his imputations on the loyalty of Catholics have remained in the diplomatic records, without a line to justify the maligned Catholics.

The only result was, apparently, that, whereas the clergy in the United States had in the first instance solicited the confirmation of Rev. Mr. Lewis as Superior, and subsequently permission to choose a Superior, the Sovereign Pontiff determined to act "proprio motu," and selected an American, as least likely to excite remonstrance.

B. U. Campbell's "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll." "U. S. Catholic Magazine," iii., p. 876.

"Nothing," wrote Rev. Mr. Carroll, "can place in a stronger light the aversion to the remains of the Society, than the observation made by you of a negotiation being carried on, relative to the affairs of religion, with Dr. Franklin, without ever deigning to apply for information to the Catholic clergy in this country." "When I first heard that the Nuncio was treating with my old friend, Dr. Franklin, I had thoughts of writing to him, and should certainly have done it, had I not been afraid of placing myself in a conspicuous point of view."—Letter to Rev. C. Plowden, September 15, 1784.

[1] Rev. John Carroll to Rev. Mr. Thorpe, February 17, 1785.

During all this proceeding, the Catholic clergy and people in the United States were not only not consulted, but were kept in profound ignorance of the intrigue. Hints of it at last reached them from friends in Europe. Rev. Charles Plowden wrote: "There are certainly some oblique views, most probably directed to the property of the American mission, and to the obtaining superiority over the missionaries. The note delivered to the Nuncio proves their wish to exclude every Jesuit from trust or honor; and equally betrays the policy of the French ministry ('the nation most friendly to Congress') who by bringing forward a Frenchman, or perhaps an Irish Frenchman, would use religion as an instrument to increase their own influence in America."[1]

The question of the appointment of a Bishop before the Revolution had excited fears among the clergy in America, who naturally dreaded an appointment made on the nomination of the Cardinal, Duke of York; at the present crisis, a nomination through the influence of the French court, where a pretended philosophy was sapping all religious faith, seemed fraught with still greater danger to the future of the Church in the United States.

France as a government at that time had no pretext whatever for intermeddling in the affairs of the Catholic Church in the United States. While aiding the insurgent colonies in their struggle for freedom, she had done absolutely nothing for the Catholic body. There is no trace up to this time of

[1] Letter to Rev. John Carroll, September 21, 1784. "U. S. Cath. Mag.," iii., p. 376. It seems to me from a study of the whole matter, that it was simply a petty intrigue of Barbé Marbois, to effect the nomination of some French priest to the projected Vicariate. Barbé Marbois, August 15, 1784, wrote to Rayneval: "Above all things, I believe we ought not to think of making the choice fall upon a French priest." When he found that the Catholic clergy were in communication with the Pope, he gave the matter up.

any aid given in erecting churches, or supplying them with priests, plate, vestments, or books.

The chaplains of the French embassy, army, and fleet made no exertion to obtain additional priests for Catholics here, and apparently rendered very slight service to the Catholics scattered through States which they entered. The use made of Father La Motte in Maine was more political than religious, and the work of the Abbé Robin, a chaplain in Rochambeau's army, shows more of the weak sentimentality made fashionable by the encyclopædists, than a robust Catholic faith.

Many of the French officers were open adherents of that school, and harmonized with the deistical American public men: Masonic lodges were established in the French camp, and many officers enrolled.

The Catholics in the United States who in their religious capacity had received no sympathy or aid from France, did not dream of any sudden interest in their affairs. But the schemes and plans failed. The matter had been considered at an early day in the councils of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pope Pius VI.

The same Providence which, by what seemed its deathblow, saved the Church in Canada from being involved in the whirlpool of the French revolution, directed the councils of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VI., and saved the Church in the United States at this juncture. It was not ambitious abbés of the French court who were to influence the Church in the United States, but priests tried in the fire of persecution, who met exile as their heroic brethren met the axe rather than palter with schism and infidelity.

When the Memorial of the priests in America was laid before him, Pope Pius VI., enlightened by means of which we do not fully know, decided on a course of action, and it was in perfect accord with the wishes of the Catholics in Ameri-

ca, though it was inspired by higher hopes and pointed to a more glorious future, than any here then dared to imagine.

The Memorial of the American clergy was referred to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and the Cardinal Prefect seems to have sought further information in regard to the position of the Church, as appears by the following letter which the Nuncio addressed to the Rev. John Carroll:

"PARIS, May 12th, 1784.

"The interests of religion, Sir, requiring new arrangements relative to the missions in the United States of North America, the Congregation of the Propaganda direct me to request from you a full statement of the actual condition of those missions. In the meantime, I beg you will inform me what number of missionaries may be necessary to serve them, and furnish spiritual aid to Catholic Christians in the United States; in what provinces there are Catholics, and where there is the greatest number of them; and lastly, if there are among the natives of the country, fit subjects to receive holy orders, and exercise the functions of missionaries. You will greatly oblige me personally, by the attention and industry which you will exercise in procuring for me this information.

"I have the honor to be, with esteem and consideration, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

"✠ J. Archbishop of Seleucia,
"Apostolical Nuncio.

"To Rev. JOHN CARROLL, Maryland."

With it was the following

"EXTRACT OF A MEMORANDUM.

"1. To have exact statements of the conduct and capacity of the ecclesiastics and missionaries who are in the different

States of North America: who among them might be the most worthy, and at the same time, agreeable to the members of the assembly of those provinces to be invested with the character of bishop in partibus, and the quality of Vicar-Apostolic. It is thought that it will be convenient for him to fix his residence where there is the greatest number of Catholics.

"2. If among these ecclesiastics there is a native of the country, and he should be among the most worthy, he should be preferred to all others of equal merit. If otherwise, choice should be made of one from some other nation. In default of a missionary actually residing in those provinces, a Frenchman will be nominated, who will go to establish himself in America, in the State above designated.

"3. To know the probable number of the ecclesiastics and missionaries, as well as how many that of the Catholics in the different States, and their standing would render necessary; we think that it is in Pennsylvania and Maryland there is the greatest number—it would be to the purpose to know if there are also any in the other States.

"4. To know whether there are schools in these States where Latin is taught; such that the young men of the country who might wish to prepare for the ecclesiastical state could study their humanities, before passing to France or Rome, there to enter at once on their philosophical and theological studies." [1]

But the Sacred Congregation did not await any reply to this correspondence of the Nuncio at Paris. The reports of Bishops Challoner and Talbot in their own archives, and the papers of the English province of the Society of Jesus, af-

[1] Campbell, "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll"; "U. S. Cath. Mag.," iii., p. 378.

forded a far clearer idea of the condition of the Church in the United States than these documents implied. There were clergymen in Rome who could give information as to the qualifications of all the priests in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, in an audience on the 6th of June, 1784, presented to his Holiness, Pope Pius VI., a report on the Church in the United States, and the Sovereign Pontiff ratified the appointment of Rev. John Carroll as Superior of the Mission in the Thirteen United States of North America, and conferred upon him power to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation during his Superiorship.

It is strange so much effort was required, and so many difficulties prevented the Catholic body in the United States with their ancient churches, and regular succession of priests, from obtaining a concession which had through the influence of Spain been granted to Dr. Camps for his little flock in Florida, to the Superior of the Franciscans in New Mexico, and about this very time to the Superiors of the same order in Texas and California.

The decree organizing the Catholic Church in the United States as a distinct body, and appointing the Very Rev. John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic, was issued by Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, on the 9th of June, 1784.

The official documents were transmitted through the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, who, on the 1st of July, called upon Dr. Franklin and acquainted him that the Pope had on his recommendation appointed Mr. Carroll, Superior of the Catholic Clergy in America, and stated that he would probably be made a bishop before the end of the year.[1]

[1] Sparks, "Life and Writings of Franklin," i., p. 581.

The decree of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide was in this form:

"The Sacred Congregation on the report of the Rev. Stephen Borgia, its Secretary, declared Superior of the missions in the thirteen United States of North America, the Rev. John Carroll, secular priest, with authority to exercise the functions which regard the government of the missions, according to the tenor of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation, and of the faculties granted to him, and not otherwise, nor in a different manner.

"Given at Rome the 9th day of June, 1784.

"S. Borgia. L. Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect."



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF CARDINAL ANTONELLI.

"Audience of the Most Holy Father, held June 6, 1784.

"Our Most Holy Father, by divine Providence, Pope Pius VI., on the report of the undersigned, secretary of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, granted to the Rev. John Carroll, Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States of North America, the faculty of administering the sacrament of Confirmation, in the said provinces during his superiorship—the said faculty to be exercised in accordance with the rules prescribed in the instruction published by order of the Congregation on the 4th of May, 1784.

"Given at Rome in the house of the Congregation, on the day and year above named.

"Stephen Borgia, Secretary of the
Sacred Congregation de prop. fide."

To remove all doubt as to his jurisdiction, Cardinal Antonelli, on the 19th of June, addressed a letter to Right Rev. James Talbot, D.D., Bishop of Birtha, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, informing him that on the petition of the Catholic missionaries in the United States, his Holiness had appointed the Rev. John Carroll, a man of tried piety and zeal, and invested him with necessary and seasonable faculties, independent of any other ecclesiastical authority except the Sacred Congregation, and that his Holiness intended at the earliest possible moment to establish a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic in that country. The Cardinal Prefect notifies Bishop Talbot, as the one to whom the spiritual care of those Catholics had been previously confided, expressing the hope that he will cordially approve the step.[1]

Thus ended by an official act the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of London over the Catholics in the United States, which had been exercised for about a century till the war began, and Bishop Talbot disclaimed all authority in this portion of America.

It was apparently overlooked at the time that parts of the United States, the Catholic Indians in Maine, the Canadians in Northern New York, and the country northwest of the Ohio, were still to be regarded as within his diocese by the Bishop of Quebec, and that the Natchez district also had been taken from the British during the war, and reannexed to Louisiana, so that the services of religion had been restored there by priests of the diocese of Santiago de Cuba.

While the organization of the Catholic body in the United States was engaging the attention of the Sovereign Pontiff, the Rev. John Carroll had found it necessary to come before

[1] Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Talbot, June 19, 1784; Archives of Archbishop of Westminster.

the American public as an apologist for the Catholic faith, and a defender of its polity and doctrine.

The Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, a native of Maryland, and a member of the Society of Jesus, till the brief of Pope Clement XIV. dissolved that religious order, had while acting as chaplain of the Catholic congregation in Worcester, England, acquired reputation there and in his native country by a "Poetical Epistle to his Excellency George Washington, Esq."[1] In 1783 he resigned his charge in England and returned to America, where doubts as to his orthodoxy and even of his belief in Christianity had preceded him, for he was reported to have been an associate of Hawkins, a priest who had openly apostatized and to have himself renounced the faith and priesthood in letters to Worcester. Rev. Mr. Wharton brought no faculties from any Bishop in England, and made no attempt to exercise the functions of the priesthood. He took up his residence with his brother on an estate belonging to them, and paid a visit to Rev. Mr. Carroll, who seemed to form a favorable opinion of him.[2] He remained there till the following year, when he proceeded to Philadelphia, and printed "A Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester from the late chaplain of that Society, stating the motives which induced him to relinquish their Communion, and become a member of the Protestant Church." Skilfully written by a man already favorably known, the pamphlet attracted attention in this country and in England, where it was speedily reprinted. He circulated it widely in Maryland, and it found many readers.

It opened by describing himself as troubled in conscience

[1] Printed at Annapolis, 1779; Reprinted, London, 1780; Springfield, Mass., 1782.

[2] Rev. J. Carroll to Rev. C. Bowden, September 26, 1783; April 10, 1784.

by the dogma, that out of the Church there was no salvation. Having rejected this dogma, doubts began to arise as to others nearly connected with it. He deprecates the idea that he was influenced by the allurements of pleasure, although he admits that for some time he had considered the law of celibacy as a cruel usurpation of the inalienable rights of nature, and then he proceeds to attack Transubstantiation and Infallibility. With a show of learned investigation, his tract was really based on well-known Protestant works of controversy, and repeated many false and garbled quotations.

The defence of the truth could not employ the same arts, it could indulge in no high-flown rhetoric or specious reasoning. To expose and refute the arguments, required examination of the authors cited, and no great library was possessed by the Catholic clergy at that time. To the extensive collections of books then in the country, Rev. Mr. Carroll found it difficult to obtain access personally or through friends.[1] But even with his limited resources he prepared a reply which met every charge of the unfortunate man. Dr. Carroll's work, "An Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America. By a Catholic Clergyman," was printed at Annapolis by Frederick Green in 1784, and forms a pamphlet of 116 pages.[2]

Like all Dr. Carroll's writings, it had a peculiar dignity and equanimity, was free from all acerbity and harshness: and was admirably fitted to exercise a beneficial influence on the public mind. In one point he had a peculiar advantage. Mr. Wharton, who had chosen to remain in England during

[1] Letters of Rev. Mr. Molyneux to Rev. John Carroll, cited in "U. S. Cath. Mag.," iii., p. 664, etc.

[2] Wharton's pamphlet was reprinted in London in 1784; and of Rev. Dr. Carroll's an edition was issued in the same city, but with unwarrantable notes: followed by a correct edition at Worcester in 1785.

the struggle, could not impeach the loyalty of the Catholic clergy and people of America, and his anonymous poem to George Washington did not place him on a par with Dr. Carroll, who came back at the beginning of the Revolution to share his country's fortunes, and who had at her call proceeded to Canada to advance her interests.

The tone of Dr. Carroll toward his unhappy relative was courteous, but showed his pain and sorrow. "Of all considerations," he writes, "the most painful was, that I had to combat him, with whom I had been connected in an intercourse of friendship and mutual good offices; and in connection with whom I hoped to have consummated my course of our common ministry in the service of virtue and religion. But when I found these expectations disappointed, when I found that he not only had abandoned our faith and communion, but had imputed to us doctrines foreign to our belief, and having a natural tendency to embitter against us the minds of our fellow-citizens, I felt an anguish too keen for description; and perhaps the chaplain will experience a similar sentiment when he comes coolly to reflect on this instance of his conduct. It did not become the friend of toleration to misinform and sow in minds so misinformed the seeds of religious animosity.

"Under all these distressful feelings, one consideration alone relieved me in writing; and that was the hope of vindicating your religion to your own selves at least, and preserving the steadfastness of your faith. But even this prospect should not have induced me to engage in the controversy, if I could fear that it would disturb the harmony now subsisting amongst all Christians in this country, so blessed with civil and religious liberty; which, if we have the wisdom and temper to preserve, America may come to exhibit a proof to the world, that general and equal toleration, by giving a free

circulation to fair argument, is the most effectual method to bring all denominations of Christians to an unity of faith."

As Mr. Wharton himself raised the question by denying that sensuality had influenced him, Dr. Carroll said: "I must entreat him with an earnestness suggested by the most perfect good-will and zealous regard for his welfare to consider the sanctity of the solemn and deliberate engagement, which at an age of perfect maturity he contracted with Almighty God. I pray him to read the two exhortations of that enlightened doctor St. Chrysostom to his friend Theodorus, who like the Chaplain, had renounced his former state, in which by a vow of celibacy he had consecrated himself to Almighty God."

Dr. Carroll begins by refuting the charge that ignorance results from the genius of the Catholic religion, and refutes by the arguments even of Protestants his claim that Catholics cannot make an impartial examination of their faith. Then he takes up the point on which Wharton laid most stress, the claim that "the Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all churches, and that of her communion no salvation can be obtained." He shows distinctly that this is not asserted in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., to which Wharton referred, and that Catholic theologians did not limit salvation to those in communion with the Church. "The members of the Catholic Church are all those, who with a sincere heart seek true religion, and are in an unfeigned disposition to embrace the truth whenever they find it. Now it never was our doctrine, that salvation can be obtained only by 'those actually in the communion of the church,' united in the profession of her faith and the participation of her sacraments, through the ministry and government of her lawful pastors."

He shows that the Catholic doctrine is free fron unchari-

tableness and liable to none of the charges alleged by Wharton. He appealed to the religious communities entirely devoted to the relief of human misery, as well as to individual works, to prove that Catholic doctrine does not, as Wharton asserted, "chill by early infusions of bigotry the warm feelings of benevolence." He appealed to the work of those religious orders by which even Protestant nations profited, whose chief work was the redemption of captives from the piratical States of Barbary.[1]

He showed how, in a controversy with a Deist, Wharton's own arguments would be used against himself; and that if all religious truth is to be tested by individual senses and understanding, the man who rejects the Scriptures or the whole scheme of Christianity can justify his course by that test, as fully as he assumed to do.

Wharton's argument against the infallibility of the Church he shows to be sophistical, making our Lord's promise that the gates of hell should not prevail against His Church to mean simply that the great and essential tenets of the Apostles' Creed should never be lost, as though the Church and the tenets of the Creed were one and the same. He shows the weakness of the arguments adduced to explain away the other texts cited to support the infallibility of the Church, by giving them not their clear and evident meaning, but a construction of his own. He shows how the Church from the apostles' time has always exercised the authority of deciding controverted points, and that whoever refused submission was cast out from the Church. "The Church has always, from the first era of Christianity, exercised the right of judg-

[1] The United States Government in early days sent money through the Orders for the Redemption of Captives to rescue American citizens in the Barbary States.

ing in matters of faith, and requiring obedience to her decisions; the monuments attesting it are certain and visible. The exercise of such a right without infallibility would be vain and nugatory; therefore she is infallible." The Catholic taking his faith and the Scriptures alike on the authority of the Church finds them to harmonize, and requires no forced construction of the words of Holy Writ to sustain his belief; he takes the very words as they are.

Wharton cited as errors into which the Church of Rome had fallen, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, and the Power of loosing and binding, doctrines not taught in Scripture or delivered in them with the greatest obscurity. Dr. Carroll at once met the point here assumed by Wharton, as by many others without proof, that the Church can teach nothing that is not explicitly laid down in the Scriptures. Dr. Carroll put the question squarely. "He knows, that we (Catholics) have always asserted, that the whole word of God, unwritten as well as written, is the Christian's rule of faith. It was incumbent then on him, before he discarded this rule, to prove either that no more was revealed, than is written; or that revealed doctrines derive their claim to our belief, not from God's infallible testimony, but from their being reduced to writing. He has not attempted this; and I will venture to say, he would have attempted it in vain, even with the assistance of his Chillingworth." "But if the testimony and tradition of the Catholic Church is to be necessarily admitted for receiving the Scripture itself, which, according to him, is the sole standard, the only rule of Protestant belief, why is her testimony to be rejected, when offered in evidence of other points of faith? Why not as well admit it in favor of transubstantiation and purgatory, as of the lawfulness of infant baptism, of the validity of baptism administered by heretics, of the

obligation of abstaining on Sundays from servile works, &c. Scripture authority for these and other points admitted by Protestants, there is certainly none." Wharton had cited two passages from St. Chrysostom; Dr. Carroll showed that the first of these was not from St. John at all, but from an unknown writer, who had evidently adopted the Manichæan, Montanist, and Arian heresies. The second passage had no reference to the rule of faith. The holy Doctor, answering those who wished to explain away the words of Scripture against riches, says that they ought to be disregarded, and all these things be estimated by the rule of Scripture. This was not at all declaring that no man is to believe anything that he cannot find explicitly laid down in Scripture, and Dr. Carroll turned against Wharton his admission that those who were unqualified to enter upon a critical inquiry as to the texts, meaning, and harmony of Scripture, "must rely principally upon the authority of their teachers." "After exalting private judgment as the sole interpreter of Scripture, he is obliged to confess, that the generality of mankind must be guided in religious matters principally by the authority of their teachers, for he will hardly deny that the generality of mankind are neither by education, or abilities, or leisure, qualified to enter upon the inquiries necessary to judge for themselves. Did Jesus Christ then leave a rule of faith so inadequate, as not to be capable of application to much the largest portion of mankind?" The Catholic Church has and has always had its body of teachers. "It is as certain that the apostles appointed other pastors to succeed them, as it is that they founded churches. The actual pastors then of these churches descending in a lawful and unbroken line of succession from them, are certainly sent by the apostles and by Christ himself, since those churches have always subsisted and still subsist."

He then maintained that as the Scripture alone is not a general and sufficient rule of faith, he might well contend that transubstantiation, purgatory, auricular confession, and the power of absolving are to be received as Christian doctrines, on the authority of the Church; he proceeds, however, to consider Wharton's arguments and at once convicts him of garbling Bellarmine, of misquoting the Second Council of Nice, and similar acts, and he refuted clearly the arguments against the Real Presence, Purgatory, and Sacramental Absolution.

Though Wharton's tract drew out replies also from Rev. William Pilling, Rev. Joseph Berington, and Father Arthur O'Leary,[1] he deemed it necessary to counteract the influence of Dr. Carroll's work: and issued "A Reply to the Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America," Philadelphia, 1785: but it was labored and weak, doing little to strengthen his position.

Father Arthur O'Leary, in his reply to Wharton, criticised a note of Dr. Carroll's reflecting on Pope Clement XIV. and his suppression of the Society of Jesus. They do not appear ever to have met, but the American priest and the brilliant Irish Capuchin were correspondents. In one of his letters Dr. Carroll wrote: "I find that you are not pleased with my note on the late Pope; and that you think I was mistaken in attributing to him a time-serving policy. Peace to his spirit and may God have mercy on his soul, but whatever allowance charity may wish for him, the pen of impartial

[1] "A Caveat addressed to the Catholics of Worcester against the Insinuating Letter of Mr. Wharton." By William Pilling. London, 1785, 12mo, pp. 109. "A Review of the Important Controversy between Dr. Carroll and the Reverend Messrs. Wharton and Hawkins, including a Defense of the Conduct of Pope Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) in Suppressing a Late Religious Order," etc. By the Rev. Arthur O'Leary. 8vo, London, 1786, pp. 94.

history will not join you and Mr. Pilling in attributing to his public conduct (and to that the destruction of the Jesuits belongs) the virtue of benevolence. You think that your intimacy with the good Cardinal de Luines gave you opportunities of information which I had not: on the contrary, I think that having spent in Italy the two years immediately preceding our dissolution, and the last of them at Rome; and mixing in all companies, and not being much with my own Brethren, I had means of collecting knowledge which were perhaps wanting to Cardinal de Luines himself; and I certainly saw repeated instances of conduct, which upon the coolest and most unprejudiced consideration appear irreconcilable, not only with benevolence, but even with common humanity, and the plainest principles of justice. At the same time I do not take upon me to say that the whole weight of this misconduct fell upon the Pope, unless it be for withdrawing himself totally from business and trusting his authority to men who so shamefully abused it; I hope you will excuse this liberty; your writings express a free soul; and I cannot think you would wish me to dissemble the feelings of mine. But though I communicate them to Mr. O'Leary, I have neither ambition to make them public nor fear to do so, if occasion require."

Berington, in his reply to Wharton, had cited a letter of Dr. Carroll, to which he gave an interpretation never intended by the Jesuit Father. In writing to Father O'Leary, Dr. Carroll says: "A few copies of Mr. Berington's late work had reached America before your letter: but I am not the less obliged to you for your kind intention of sending it. With that gentleman I had a slight acquaintance in Europe, and some correspondence has existed between us, occasioned by his former publication on the Behavior of the English Catholics. In a letter to him and before I had a thought

of ever being in my present station, I expressed a wish that the pastors of the Church would see cause to grant to this extensive continent jointly with England and Ireland, etc., the same privilege as is enjoyed by many churches of infinitely less extent: that of having their liturgy in their own language; for I do indeed conceive that one of the most popular prejudices against us is that our public prayers are unintelligible to our hearers. Many of the poor people, and the negroes generally, not being able to read, have no technical help to confine their attention. Mr. Berington's brilliant imagination attributes to me projects which far exceed my powers, and in which I should find no co-operation from my clerical brethren in America, were I rash enough to attempt their introduction upon my own authority." [1]

The controversy with Wharton brought the Rev. Mr. Carroll once more prominently before the Catholics of the United States, for the work, though anonymous, was, at once, ascribed to him.

It had not contributed to his elevation to the position of Superior of the Catholics in the United States; but it convinced the Sovereign Pontiff and his council that they had

[1] Draft of Letter of Very Rev. John Carroll to Rev. Arthur O'Leary. At this time many Catholics in England looked forward with despair to the future of religion in English-speaking countries, and thought the existence of the Church there much longer impossible without conceding to prevailing prejudice whatever could be yielded. The mantle of prophecy had not fallen on any of them; and indeed had St. Paul of the Cross, or St. Benedict Labre, or any other Saint of that day foretold that in a century there would be a hierarchy in England, Ireland, and Scotland, Canada, the United States, India, Australia, with a cardinal in almost every one of those parts, provincial councils and synods held, and a General Council convened, at which one-fourth the Bishops were from English-speaking countries, it would have been regarded as an evidence of insanity, not of sanctity. That Carroll, thrown so long among the leading English Catholics, felt some of their despondency, is scarcely to be wondered at.

chosen wisely. The priest, disposed to look with forebodings as to the future, was, Moses like, to lead the chosen people toward the Promised Land, though he was not to live to see it in full possession of its heritage.

The interest excited by the discussion between Dr. Carroll and the unfortunate Wharton emboldened C. Talbot, a Dublin printer and bookseller, who had settled in Philadelphia, to issue in 1784 an edition of Reeve's History of the Old and New Testament; it was the first Catholic work apparently issued by any publisher on his own account. All Catholic books that had previously appeared were, so far as information shows, struck off by printers for some of the clergy, who obtained subscriptions enough among the flock to justify their undertaking the publication.

An edition of Challoner's "Catholic Christian Instructed" was printed at Philadelphia in 1785, and also a Spelling Primer with an abridgment of the Catechism annexed.[1]

[1] The following are works of Catholic authors, printed in this country in and before 1783, including those issued by Protestants:

1729. Seguenot, "Letter from a Romish Priest in Canada." Boston.
1749. Kempis, "The Imitation of Christ." Germantown.
1750. Fénelon, "Dissertation on Pure Love." Germantown.
1754. Conti, "Extracts of several Treatises." Philadelphia.
1756. Galerm, "A Relation of the Misfortunes." Philadelphia.
1768. "Memoire des Habitans et Negocians de la Louisiane."
1769. O'Reilly, "To the fanatical ill disposed people."
1772. "Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois." ? Philadelphia.
1773. "Der Kleine Kempis, oder Kurze Sprüche und Gebätlein aus denen meistens unbekannten Werklein des Thomæ à Kempis." Germantown.
1774. "Catholic Manual." Philadelphia.
——. "The Garden of the Soul." Philadelphia.
1774. Challoner, "Catholic Christian Instructed." Philadelphia.
1778. D'Estaing, "Declaration . . . aux anciens Français." Boston.
1779. Bandot, "Discours prononcé le 4 Juillet." Philadelphia.
1781. Wharton, "A Poetical Epistle to George Washington." Annapolis. 1782. Springfield.

Before the Revolution the printing of Catholic books was possible only in Pennsylvania, and there was done cautiously. Dr. Carroll wrote: "Amongst the poorer sort many could not read, or if they could, were destitute of books, which, if to be had at all, must come from England: and in England the laws were excessively rigid against printing or vending Catholic books."

The faithful in America were not indifferent: and in one way or other secured many Catholic books. The edition of Challoner's Bible issued in 1763–4, not improbably at Dublin, has Catholics in America in its list of subscribers. "A Manual of Catholic Prayers," followed apparently by Challoner's "Catholic Christian Instructed," was printed by Robert Bell at Philadelphia in 1774, and with "The Garden of the Soul," printed by Crukshank, were perhaps the only prayer-books issued in this country for the use of Catholics before the Revolution.

On the 20th of August, the Rev. Mr. Carroll received a letter from Rev. Mr. Thorpe at Rome, announcing his appointment. Dr. Carroll replied at once, thanking his correspondent most cordially for his active and successful endeavors to render service to the Church in America: "I say successful," he wrote, "not because your partiality, as I presume, joined to that of my old cheerful friend, Dr. Franklin, suggested me to the consideration of his Holiness, but because you have obtained some form of spiritual government to be adopted for us."

Though informed of his appointment as Prefect-Apostolic, but without official notification from Rome, the Rev. Dr.

1783. Kempis, "Of the Imitation of Christ." Philadelphia.
1783. Burke, "Address to the Freemen of S. Carolina" Philadelphia.
1783. Robin, "New Travels in North America." Philadelphia.
1783. Robin, "Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique." Philadelphia.

Carroll saw the day approaching to which the Delegates of the Clergy had adjourned, and when they were to decide on the proposed Form of Government. His nomination had been made without any solicitation on his part, and without taking the views of the priests in this country. The Prefect elect could not, therefore, feel assured as to the manner in which his appointment would be regarded.

When the Chapter opened its first session on the 11th of October, 1784, he attended as a simple delegate, and no official notice of his promotion was taken. "The Form of Government" in nineteen articles and "Rules for the particular Government of Members belonging to y^e^ Body of y^e^ Clergy" were adopted and declared to be "binding on all persons, at present, composing the Body of Clergy in Maryland and Pennsylvania."

The Form of Government was signed for the Rev. John Lewis, Superior, by his deputy, Rev. Joseph Mosley, by Revs. Lucas Geissler and Robert Molyneux, Bernard Diderick and John Carroll, Ignatius Matthews and James Walton, delegates to the Chapter from the three districts, and by several other priests who attended, Rev. Joseph Mosley, John Ashton, Sylvester Boarman, Charles Sewell, Francis Beeston, and Francis Neale.

Under the system thus proposed, the priests in Maryland and Pennsylvania were to form a body corporate, which was to hold, until the restoration of the Society of Jesus, the property formerly held in the names of members of that order individually. The affairs of the corporation were to be managed by a Chapter composed of two deputies from each of the three districts, chosen by the priests belonging to the corporation stationed therein.

This Chapter was to meet every three years, and was to appoint a Procurator-General, who was to have the general

charge of the property. The titles of the lands were to be held by trustees, and the gentlemen so appointed were to give bonds, and the Chapter was to adopt means to prevent the alienation of any part. The Chapter was empowered to make new rules, which were to have force when approved by the districts or a future meeting of the Chapter. It also had the right to hear and determine complaints and appeals.

Vacancies in the Chapter were to be supplied by the districts at once. At the triennial meeting the Procurator was to make a report on the particular condition of each estate, so that the Chapter could examine the general state of the temporal affairs, and the profits or losses in each.

The members of the Chapter were in ignorance of the powers to be conferred upon Rev. Mr. Carroll, or indeed whether he would accept the position.

The Form of Government shows their distrust of the Superior to be appointed, who might after all be a perfect stranger to them and the country. The last article provided: "XIX. The person invested with spiritual jurisdiction in y^e^ country shall not in y^t^ quality have any power over or in the temporal property of y^e^ clergy." Article XIII. declared:

"When any person not before incorporated into y^e^ Body of Clergy desires to be admitted therein, the Superior in Spiritualities, on being well certified of his doctrine, morals and sufficient learning, shall propose him to y^e^ members of chapter of the District where his services are wanted, and in case of his being accepted by them, some member of Chapter in that district shall lay before him y^e^ general regulations of y^e^ body of clergy, and require him to sign his submission thereunto: direct him to repair to y^r^ place allotted for his residence. But if y^e^ members of Chapter do not agree to receive him into their District, then y^e^ said Superior is to propose him to any other where there is need, and pro-

ceed in y^e^ same manner as above. If no District will admit him, he is to be informed, that he does not belong to y^e^ Body of Clergy, y^t^ he owes no services to, and consequently is not entitled to any provision from them; and when any member of y^e^ Body of Clergy thro' discontent leaves his former place of residence without y^e^ approbation of lawful authority and applyes for another place he is not to be imposed on any district without their consent expressed by y^e^ members of Chapter."

Every priest who might thereafter seek admission into the Corporate Body, was to be required to subscribe this formula:

"I promise to conform myself to y^e^ forms and regulations established for y^e^ Government of y^e^ Clergy residing in Maryland and Pennsylvania so long as I expect maintenance and support from them."

Another Section (XIV.) read: "With respect to members actually forming part of the body of the clergy there shall be no arbitrary power of removing them at will, or for greater convenience; but when a vacancy happens which the good of religion requires to be supplied, the members of chapter of the district in which the vacancy lies, shall endeavor to prevail upon the person they judge fittest to accept of the vacant charge, application having been first made to the superior in spiritualibus."

And Article XVI.: "When the Superior in spiritualibus has withdrawn his faculties from any clergyman, on account of his misconduct or irregularity of life, the procurator general shall have power to deprive him of any maintenance from the estates of the clergy."

The Rules for particular government of members belonging to "y^e^ body of y^e^ Clergy" require each to subscribe a promise to submit to the common rules and regulations of government as long as he should remain amongst them. Each

priest was to be maintained out of the estate on which he resided and to receive thirty pounds a year. When incapacitated by age or infirmity, this allowance was to continue whether he remained on any of their estates, or went elsewhere; but no allowance was to be made to any one residing with seculars, unless with the sanction of the Chapter. A standing committee, consisting of Rev. Messrs. Lewis, Farmer, and Digges, was appointed to hear and determine all differences among members.

"To preserve charity among the members of the clergy in this mission, every one must frequently pray for each other, and say ten masses for every person dying in the service of this mission; and the members of the private chapters may direct what masses or prayers shall be said for other purposes in their respective districts. Every clergyman shall say one mass every year for the superior in spiritualibus during his life-time, and after his decease. And for the late superior, Rev. John Lewis, after his death, also fifteen, and particularly all shall be mindful soon after the 2nd November, to say annually one mass for deceased benefactors."

The Form of Government was thus adopted.

Salaries were then fixed; that of Rev. John Ashton as procurator-general at £40 currency. And it was "Resolved that the superior in spirituals, from the receipt of his faculties be allowed the salary of £100 sterling—$444 per annum, together with a servant and a chair and horse: that his salary continue to the next meeting of the chapter, and then be subject to their further determination."

The Chapter having thus adopted a Plan of Government and Rules proceeded to elect Rev. John Ashton, whose administrative ability was recognized, as General Procurator.

A letter from Rev. Mr. Thorpe was laid before the Chapter, and they decided that a Superior with power to give

Confirmation, bless oils, grant faculties and dispensations was adequate to the present exigencies of religion in this country. "That a bishop is at present unnecessary." They appointed a committee, consisting of Rev. Bernard Diderick, Ignatius Matthews, and Joseph Mosley, to draw up a petition to the Pope to urge that no bishop be yet appointed, and they resolved "That if one be sent, it is decided by the majority of the chapter, that he shall not be entitled to any support from the present estates of the clergy."

It was also resolved to bring in six additional clergymen. After binding themselves to promote and effect to the best of their power an absolute and entire restoration to the Society of Jesus (if it should please Almighty God to re-establish it in this country) of all the property formerly belonging to it.

The restoration of the Society was the absorbing thought of the American missionaries who had belonged to it, and this is the key to their action, which to some might seem to savor of insubordination and defiance; but there were no such elements in these patient and zealous missionaries; who, convinced of the justice of their cause, were waiting for the hour when Providence would avenge it.

The Rev. Mr. Carroll was in attendance at the meetings of the Chapter only during part of the session, as he was taken ill and compelled to withdraw. Soon after its close, on the 8th of November, he received from Barbé de Marbois a letter which contrasts strangely with that in which he assailed Dr. Carroll and his fellow-priests.

"New York, October 27, 1784.

"Sir:

"I have the honor to transmit to you a letter which I have received with the dispatches of the Count de Vergennes. I

judge by the address of that letter that his Holiness has concluded his choice in regard to the head of the Catholic Church on this continent. I congratulate myself in being one of the first to assure you that this choice will give general satisfaction. I am about to set out for Trenton, and desire earnestly that Maryland may be represented in Congress by one of your relations. If your nomination should produce any other communications between our court and the Holy See, I will exert myself to contribute to your service.

"I am with respect, M. l'Abbé,

"Your very humble and very

"Obedient servant,

"DE MARBOIS.

"To Rev. JOHN CARROLL."

The document inclosed was addressed "To Rev. Dr. John Carroll, Superior of the Mission in the Thirteen United States of America," but it contained only an authority to publish the Jubilee of 1775, which had been specially extended to the United States.

The decree itself appointing him, with the accompanying grant from the Sovereign Pontiff, reached him on the 26th of November, 1784.

With them came the following letter:

"ROME, June 9, 1784.

"VERY REV. SIR:

"In order to preserve and defend Catholicity in the Thirteen United States of North America, the Supreme Pontiff of the Church, Pius VI., and this sacred Congregation, have thought it extremely proper to designate a pastor who should, permanently and independently of any ecclesiastical power, except the same Sacred Congregation, attend to the spiritual necessities of the Catholic flock. In the appointment of such

a pastor, the Sacred Congregation would have readily cast its eyes on the Rev. John Lewis if his advanced age and the labors he has already undergone in the vineyard of the Lord, had not deterred it from imposing on him, a new and very heavy burden; for he seems to require repose rather than arduous labor. As then, Rev. Sir, you have given conspicuous proofs of piety and zeal, and it is known that your appointment will please and gratify many members of that republic, and especially Mr. Franklin, the eminent individual who represents the same republic at the court of the Most Christian King, the Sacred Congregation, with the approbation of his Holiness, has appointed you Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States of North America, and has communicated to you the faculties, which are necessary to the discharge of that office; faculties which are also communicated to the other priests of the same States, except the administration of confirmation, which is reserved for you alone, as the enclosed documents will show.

"These arrangements are meant to be only temporary. For it is the intention of his Holiness soon to charge a Vicar-Apostolic, invested with the title and character of bishop, with the care of those states, that he may attend to ordination and other episcopal functions. But, to accomplish this design, it is of great importance that we should be made acquainted with the state of the orthodox religion in those thirteen states. Therefore we request you to forward to us, as soon as possible, a correct report, stating carefully the number of Catholics in each state; what is their condition, their piety and what abuses exist; also how many missionary priests labor now in this vineyard of the Lord; what are their qualifications, their zeal, their mode of support. For though the Sacred Congregation wish not to meddle with temporal things, it is important for the establishment of laborers, that

we should know what are the ecclesiastical revenues, if any there are, and it is believed there are some. In the meantime for fear the want of missionaries should deprive the Catholics of spiritual assistance, it has been resolved to invite hither two youths from the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to educate them at the expense of the Sacred Congregation in the Urban College; they will afterwards, on returning to their country, be substitutes in the mission. We leave to your solicitude the care of selecting and sending them. You will make choice of those who have more promising talents and a good constitution, who are not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen years of age; who by their proficiency in the sanctuary may give great hopes of themselves. You may address them to the excellent archbishop of Seleucia, Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, who is informed of their coming. If the young men selected are unable to defray the expenses of the voyage, the Sacred Congregation will provide for them: we even wish to be informed by you frankly and accurately of the necessary traveling expenses, to serve as a rule for the future. Such are the things I had to signify to you; and whilst I am confident you will discharge the office committed to you with all zeal, solicitude and fidelity, and more than answer the high opinion we have formed of you, I pray God that he may grant you all peace and happiness.

"L. CARD. ANTONELLI,

"Prefect.

"STEPHEN BORGIA,

"Secretary."

The action of the Holy See had given the Catholics in the United States a separate organization; but among priests and people who had just emerged from the oppressed condition so long maintained by the penal laws, the temporary tenure

of the Prefect, his absolute dependence on the Propaganda, and the extremely limited powers given him, were the source of great uneasiness. As it afterward proved, the form of the appointment was based on that of a Prefect sent from Rome with missionaries to Africa, and contained a clause that he was to give faculties to no priests coming into the country except those sent and approved by the Sacred Congregation.[1] Very naturally such a clause in his appointment seemed inexplicable to Dr. Carroll, as the Propaganda did not purpose sending any priests to aid him in his work, and few priests arriving in the United States would possess means or be willing to return to Europe and go to Rome to obtain a mission and approbation from the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. Dr. Carroll wrote to Rev. Mr. Thorpe: "Though our free and tolerant forms of government (in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania) admit us to equal civil rights with other Christians, yet the leading men in our respective States often express a jealousy of any foreign jurisdiction: and surely will be more offended with our submitting to it in matters not essential to our faith. I hope they will never object to our depending on the Pope in things purely spiritual, but I am sure there are men, at least in this State, who would blow up a flame of animosity against us, if they suspected that we were to be so much under the government of any Congregation at Rome, as to receive our Superior from it, commissioned only during their good-will, and that this Superior was restricted from employing any clergyman here, but such as that Congregation should direct. I dread so much the

[1] "The cramping clauses against which you had with great reason remonstrated should be struck out of the printed faculties and that they were never meant to be where you found them, left by an oversight in the Secretary's office."—Letter of Rev. Mr. Thorpe, Rome, August 31, 1785.

consequences of its being known, that this last direction was ever given, that I have not thought proper to mention it to several of my Brethren."

"You well know," he says again in the same letter, "that in our free and jealous government, where Catholics are admitted into all public Councils equally with the professors of any other Religion, it never will be suffered that their ecclesiastical Superior (be he a Bishop or Prefect-Apostolic) receive his appointment from a foreign State, and only hold it at the discretion of a foreign tribunal or congregation. If even the present temper or inattention of our executive and legislative bodies were to overlook it for this and perhaps a few more instances, still ought we not to acquiesce and rest quiet in actual enjoyment: for the consequence sooner or later would certainly be that some malicious or jealous-minded person, would raise a spirit against us, and under pretence of rescuing the State from foreign influence and dependence, strip us perhaps of our common civil rights." [1]

The tidings of his appointment found the Rev. Mr. Carroll undecided as to his course. The appointment was not one that he desired. He had a decided repugnance to accept any position, and especially one merely at their pleasure, from the Congregation de Propaganda Fide: to accept it hampered by restrictions and little power for good was a step from which he shrank. "I do assure you," he wrote to his friend, Rev. Charles Plowden, "that nothing personal to myself, except the dissolution of the Society, ever gave me so much concern; and if a meeting of our gentlemen, to be held the 9th of October, agree in thinking that I can decline the intended office without grievous interference, I shall certainly do so."

[1] Letter to Rev. Mr. Thorpe, February 17, 1785.

The proceedings of the Chapter, as we have seen, took no official notice of the appointment of Rev. Mr. Carroll, although it was known by private letters. His appointment was indeed satisfactory, but the nature of the office kept alive fear and distrust.

A memorial protesting against the creation of a bishop for the United States, was drawn up by Rev. Bernard Diderick, but it was injudicious in matter and form, so that Dr. Carroll objected to it. There is little doubt, however, that it was forwarded substantially in the same terms to Rome, and if not formally presented, was known and had some effect.

That an influence was exerted is certain, and the appointment of Rev. Dr. Carroll as Vicar-Apostolic, which his Holiness intended to carry into effect in 1785, was laid aside.

CHAPTER VI.

VERY REV. JOHN CARROLL, PREFECT-APOSTOLIC OF THE UNITED STATES, 1784–1790.

On receiving the documents investing him with spiritual authority over the Catholics in the United States, the Very Rev. Dr. Carroll prepared a circular to be transmitted to each priest. In the draft of one, which was apparently not used, he discussed at length their dependence on the Propaganda.

"I consider powers issued from the Propaganda, not only as improper, but dangerous here," wrote Dr. Carroll. "The jealousy in our governments of the interference of any foreign jurisdiction is known to be such, that we cannot expect, and in my opinion, ought not to wish that they would tolerate any other than that which being purely spiritual, is essential to our Religion, to wit, an acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual supremacy, and of the See of St. Peter being the centre of the Ecclesiastical Unity. The appointment, therefore, by the Propaganda of a Superior for this country, appears to be a dangerous step, and by exciting the jealousy of the government here, may tend much to the prejudice of Religion, and perhaps expose it to the reproach of encouraging a dependence on a foreign power, and giving them an undue internal influence by leaving with them a prerogative to nominate to places of trust and real importance, and that 'ad suum beneplacitum.'

"The Congregation of the Propaganda, if I understand its institution, was formed only for the government and super-

intendence of missions, &c.: and I observe, that they affect in their commission to me and other acts, to call our ecclesiastical state here a mission; and the laborers therein missioners. Perhaps this denomination was heretofore proper enough; but it cannot now be so deemed. By the constitution, our Religion has acquired equal rights and privileges with that of other Christians: we form not a fluctuating body of laborers in Christ's vineyard, sent hither and removable at the will of a Superior, but a permanent body of national clergy, with sufficient powers to form our own system of internal government, and I think, to choose our own superior and a very just claim to have all necessary spiritual authority communicated to him, on his being presented as regularly and canonically chosen by us. We have further a reasonable prospect, which I soon hope to see realized, of forming an establishment for educating and perpetuating a succession of clergy among ourselves; and as soon as that measure is in a promising forwardness, we shall have a right to a diocesan Bishop of our own choice. 'Ought not the immense territory possessed by the United States to have an Ecclesiastical Superior as independent as the Bishop of Quebec?' says one of our zealous friends in England."

The fear of their having some stranger forced on the Catholics of this country as their Bishop had not been laid aside: "I am, moreover, advised by Cardinal Antonelli, that his Holiness intends to appoint hereafter (but no term mentioned or even insinuated) a Vicar-Apostolic with Episcopal character, and with such powers as may exempt this country from every other Ecclesiastical dependence, beside that on the aforesaid Congregation. But not the slightest intimation is given of the person designed for that preferment." "We shall in a few years stand in absolute need of a Bishop, but that a Bishop Vicar-Apostolic would give great umbrage, on

account of this entire dependence, both for his station and conduct, on a foreign jurisdiction: he must be a diocesan Bishop, and his appointment must come neither from his Holiness, for that would create more jealousy in our government, than even in France, Germany or Spain, nor from the Assemblies or different Executives but he should be chosen by the Catholic clergy themselves." [1]

The position into which the Catholic body in the United States had been forced by the wretched intrigue to impose a foreign bishop on them was a sad one. But as the acceptance of the Prefecture by Rev. Mr. Carroll would pave the way to a more satisfactory organization, while his refusal to undertake the duty imposed upon him, would almost certainly result in the imposition of some stranger on the Catholics in the United States, he yielded to the arguments of his fellow-clergymen and decided to accept the onerous position.[2]

On the 27th of February, 1785, he addressed Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Propaganda, apologizing for the delay, returning thanks for the good-will shown him personally, and for the interest manifested in the advancement of the Catholic cause in the United States; and he begged him to convey to the Sovereign Pontiff his absolute devotion to the Holy See, and his thanks for the important trust confided to

[1] Very Rev. J. Carroll, Draught of a circular letter announcing his appointment as Prefect.

[2] "Nothing but the present extreme necessity of some spiritual powers here, could induce me to act under a commission, which may produce, if long continued, and it should become public, the most dangerous jealousy."—Very Rev. Dr. Carroll, MS. draft of a circular announcing his appointment as Prefect. The Rev. Messrs. Lewis, Molyneux, Farmer, Leonard Neale, and others had urged him to send his acceptance at once; but it is evident that some, still distrustful, regarded Dr. Carroll's appointment only as temporary, and an entering wedge to despoil the Church of its property. See letters in "U. S. Cath. Mag.," 1844, pp. 798, etc.

him. He expressed his sense of his lack of mental and bodily qualifications for the faithful discharge of the duties. To give an accurate condition of the state of affairs would require statements that might not be pleasing and might seem lacking in respect to the Holy See; but he was not deterred by these considerations from the conviction that nothing could be safely or efficaciously done for the Church in the United States until the actual condition was clearly understood.

He then showed how formerly Maryland and Pennsylvania were the only two colonies where Catholics were allowed to reside, and even there were excluded from any civil or military office. Since their deliverance from the British yoke Catholics could, unmolested, assemble for divine worship in any of the States. "In most places, however, they are not admitted to any office in the State unless they renounce all foreign jurisdiction, civil or ecclesiastical," so that Catholics were virtually under civil disabilities in most of the States, enjoying fully the rights of their fellow-citizens only in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. "But," he added, "how long we are to enjoy the benefits of this toleration or equal rights, I would not dare to assert. Many of our people especially in Maryland fear, that we shall be absolutely excluded from holding office; for my own part, I have deemed it wiser not to anticipate evils, but to bear them when they come. I cherish the hope that so great a wrong will not be done us: nay more I trust that the foundations of religion will be so firmly laid in the United States, that a most flourishing part of the Church will in time be developed here, to the great consolation of the Holy See.

"The Church of England had been the dominant body, directed by ministers dependent on the Bishop of London, but after the war, they were not allowed to depend on an

English or any other foreign bishop. They were free to appoint and elect bishops of their own, as they had in fact done, although none had yet been consecrated according to their rites. They have adopted a form of government for their church, and desire it be called and to be national, in that it admitted no foreign Superior, that they may be freed from such fears for the future as many Catholics felt.

"The most Eminent Cardinal may rest assured that the greatest evils would be borne by us rather than renounce the divine authority of the Holy See: that not only we priests who are here, but the Catholic people seem so firm in the faith that they will never withdraw from obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. The Catholic body, however, think that some favor should be granted to them by the Holy Father, necessary for their permanent enjoyment of the civil rights which they now enjoy, and to avert the dangers which they fear. From what I have said, and from the framework of public affairs here, your Eminence must see how objectionable all foreign jurisdiction will be to them. The Catholics therefore desire that no pretext be given to the enemies of our religion to accuse us of depending unnecessarily on a foreign authority; and that some plan may be adopted, by which hereafter an ecclesiastical Superior may be appointed for this country, in such a way as to retain absolutely the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See, and at the same time remove all ground of objecting to us, as though we held anything hostile to the national independence. Many of the leading Catholics thought of laying this before his Holiness in a general Memorial, especially those who have been either in the Continental Congress or the legislature of Pennsylvania and Maryland: but I induced them to refrain from any such step at least for the present. The Holy Father will perhaps see more clearly what is to be done in this matter, if

he considers the Sixth of the Articles of perpetual Confederation between the States, which enacts that no one who holds any office under the United States, shall be allowed to receive any gift, office or title of any kind whatsoever from any king, prince or foreign government, and though this prohibition seems to extend only to those who are appointed to offices in the republic, it will perhaps be wrested by our opponents to apply also to ecclesiastical offices.

"We desire therefore, Most Eminent Cardinal, to provide in every way, that the faith in its integrity, due obedience towards the Apostolic See and perfect union should flourish, and at the same time that whatever can with safety to religion be granted, shall be conceded to American Catholics in ecclesiastical government; in this way we hope that the distrust of Protestants now full of suspicion will be diminished, and that thus our affairs can be solidly established.

"You have indicated, Most Eminent Cardinal, that it was the intention and design of His Holiness to appoint a Vicar-Apostolic for these States, invested with the episcopal character and title. While this paternal solicitude for us has filled us with great joy, it also at first inspired some fear: for we knew that heretofore American Protestants never could be induced to allow even a Bishop of their own sect, when the attempt was made during the subjection of these provinces to the King of England: hence a fear arose that we would not be permitted to have one. But some months since in a convention of Protestant ministers of the Anglican or as it is here called the Episcopal Church, they decreed, that as by authority of law they enjoyed the full exercise of their religion, they therefore had the right of appointing for themselves, such ministers of holy things, as the system and discipline their sect required; namely bishops, priests, and deacons; this decision on their part was not censured by the Congress

appointed to frame our laws. As the same liberty in the exercise of religion is granted to us, it necessarily follows that we enjoy the same right in regard to adopting laws for our government.

"While the matter stands thus, the Holy Father will decide, and you, Most Eminent Cardinal, will consider whether the time is now opportune for appointing a bishop, what his qualifications should be, and how he should be nominated. On all these points, not as if seeking to obtain my own judgment, but to make this relation more ample, I shall note a few facts.

"First, as regards the seasonableness of the step, it may be noted, that there will be no excitement in the public mind, if a bishop be appointed, as Protestants think of appointing one for themselves: nay, they even hope to acquire some importance for their sect among the people from the episcopal dignity; so too we trust that we shall not only acquire the same, but that great advantages will follow; inasmuch as this church will then be governed in that manner which Christ our Lord instituted. On the other hand, however, it occurs that as the Most Holy Father has already deigned to provide otherwise for conferring the sacrament of confirmation, there is no actual need for the appointment of a bishop, until some candidates are found fitted to receive holy orders; this we hope will be the case in a few years, as you will understand, Most Eminent Cardinal, from a special relation which I purpose writing. When that time comes, we shall perhaps be better able to make a suitable provision for a bishop, than from our slender resources we can now do.

"In the next place, if it shall seem best to his Holiness to assign a bishop to this country, will it be best to appoint a Vicar-Apostolic or an ordinary with a see of his own? Which will conduce more to the progress of Catholicity, which will con-

tribute most to remove Protestant jealousy of foreign jurisdiction? I know with certainty that this fear will increase, if they know that an ecclesiastical superior is so appointed as to be removable from office at the pleasure of the Sacred Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide,' or any other tribunal out of the country, or that he has no power to admit any priest to exercise the sacred function, unless that Congregation has approved and sent him to us.

"As to the method of nominating a bishop, I will say no more, at present, than this, that we are imploring God in his wisdom and mercy to guide the judgment of the Holy See, that if it does not seem proper to allow the priests who have labored for so many years in this vineyard of the Lord to propose to the Holy See, the one whom they deem most fit, that some method will be adopted by which a bad feeling may not be excited among the people of this country, Catholic and Protestant."

He urged the removal of the restriction by which he was prevented from receiving any priests but those sent by the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," and alluded especially to the case of priests born in the United States and ordained in Europe, many of whom were gradually returning to this country, but who on arriving found that they could not exercise the ministry, however competent, until they had obtained faculties from Rome.

He commended the Church in this country earnestly to his Eminence's protection: and begged him to "cast his eyes on the immense territory included in the limits of the United States, with a population daily increasing by the influx of immigrants and the natural growth of the people. The true faith can everywhere be freely preached, and there seems no obstacle to our deriving great fruit from this liberty, except the want of priests and means of providing for them."

The Relation on the State of Religion in the United States which he forwarded to Cardinal Antonelli, was as follows:

"1. There are in Maryland about 15,800 Catholics; of these there are about 9,000 freemen, adults or over twelve years of age; children under that age, about 3,000; and about that number of slaves of all ages of African origin, called negroes. 2. There are in Pennsylvania about 7,000,[1] very few of whom are negroes, and the Catholics are less scattered and live nearer to each other. 3. There are not more than 200 in Virginia who are visited four or five times a year by a priest. Many other Catholics are said to be scattered in that and other States, who are utterly deprived of all religious ministry.

"In the State of New York I hear that there are at least 1,500. (Would that some spiritual succor could be afforded them!) They have recently, at their own expense, sent for a Franciscan Father from Ireland, and he is said to have the best testimonials as to his learning and life; he had arrived a little before I received the letters in which faculties were transmitted to me, communicable to my fellow-priests. I was for a time in doubt whether I could properly approve this priest for the administration of the sacraments. I have now, however, decided, especially as the feast of Easter is so near, to consider him as one of my fellow-priests, and to grant him faculties, and I trust that my decision will meet your approbation.

"As to the Catholics who are in the territory bordering on the river called Mississippi and in all that region which

[1] Rev. R. Molyneux to Rev. J. Carroll, December 7, 1784, estimated 1,000 communicants in Philadelphia, 200 in country; 1,000 non-communicants over twelve years of age in Philadelphia; at Goshenhoppen under Rev. J. B. de Ritter 500 communicants; at Lancaster (Rev. L. Geissler), 700; at Conewago (Rev. J. Pellentz), 1,000. "U. S. Cath. Mag." iv., p. 259. The baptisms in Goshenhoppen and its missions in 1785, were 52.

following that river extends to the Atlantic Ocean, and from it extends to the limits of Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania,—this tract of country contains, I hear, many Catholics, formerly Canadians, who speak French, and I fear that they are destitute of priests. Before I received your Eminence's letters there went to them a priest, German by birth, but who came last from France; he professes to belong to the Carmelite order: he was furnished with no sufficient testimonials that he was sent by his lawful superior. What he is doing and what is the condition of the Church in those parts, I expect soon to learn. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec formerly extended to some part of that region; but I do not know whether he wishes to exercise any authority there now, that all these parts are subjects to the United States."

Of the Condition, Piety, and Defects, etc., of Catholics:

"In Maryland a few of the leading more wealthy families still profess the Catholic faith introduced at the very foundation of the province by their ancestors. The greater part of them are planters and in Pennsylvania almost all are farmers, except the merchants and mechanics living in Philadelphia. As for piety, they are for the most part sufficiently assiduous in the exercises of religion and in frequenting the sacraments, but they lack that fervor, which frequent appeals to the sentiment of piety usually produce, as many congregations hear the word of God only once a month, and sometimes only once in two months. We are reduced to this by want of priests, by the distance of congregations from each other and by difficulty of travelling. This refers to Catholics born here, for the condition of the Catholics who in great numbers are flowing in here from different countries of Europe, is very different. For while there are few of our native

Catholics, who do not approach the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, at least once a year, especially in Easter time, you can scarcely find any among the newcomers who discharge this duty of religion, and there is reason to fear that the example will be very pernicious especially in commercial towns.

"The abuses that have grown among Catholics are chiefly those, which result from unavoidable intercourse with non-Catholics, and the examples thence derived: namely more free intercourse between young people of opposite sexes than is compatible with chastity in mind and body; too great fondness for dances and similar amusements; and an incredible eagerness, especially in girls, for reading love stories which are brought over in great quantities from Europe. Then among other things, a general lack of care in instructing their children and especially the negro slaves in their religion, as these people are kept constantly at work, so that they rarely hear any instructions from the priest, unless they can spend a short time with one; and most of them are consequently very dull in faith and depraved in morals. It can scarcely be believed how much trouble and care they give the pastors of souls.

"3. How many priests are there here, their qualifications, character and means of support?

"There are 19 priests in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania.[1] Of these two are more than seventy years old, and

[1] The nineteen priests in Maryland were apparently Very Rev. John Carroll, Prefect-Apostolic; Rev. John Lewis, Bohemia; Rev. James Walton, at St. Inigoes; Rev. Henry Pile, Newport; Rev. Benedict Neale, Rev. Ignatius Matthews, at St. Thomas' Manor; Revs. J. Ashton, Sylvester Boarman, Port Tobacco; Rev. Leonard Neale; Rev. Charles Sewall, Baltimore; Rev. Joseph Mosley, St. Joseph's; Revs. Augustine Jenkins, John Bolton, Francis Beeston, Lewis Roels, Thomas Digges, Bernard Diderick, John Boone; Rev. James Frambach, at Fredericktown;

three others very near that age: and they are consequently almost entirely unfit to undergo the hardships, without which this vineyard of the Lord cannot be cultivated. Of the remaining priests some are in very bad health, and there is one recently approved by me for a few months only, that in the extreme want of priests I may give him a trial: for some things were reported of him, which made me averse to employing him. I will watch him carefully, and if anything occurs unworthy priestly gravity I will recall the faculties granted, whatever inconvenience this may bring to many Catholics: for I am convinced that the Catholic faith will suffer less harm, if for a short time there is no priest at a place, than if living as we do among fellow-citizens of another religion, we admit to the discharge of the sacred ministry, I do not say bad priests, but incautious and imprudent priests. All the other clergymen lead a life full of labor, as each one attends congregations far apart, and has to be riding constantly and with great fatigue, especially to sick calls.

"Priests are maintained chiefly from the proceeds of the estates; elsewhere by the liberality of the Catholics. There is properly no ecclesiastical property here: for the property by which the priests are supported, is held in the names of individuals and transferred by will to devisees. This course was rendered necessary when the Catholic religion was cramped here by laws, and no remedy has yet been found for this difficulty, although we made an earnest effort last year.

"There is a college in Philadelphia, and it is proposed to establish two in Maryland, in which Catholics can be admitted, as well as others, as presidents, professors and pupils.

the five in Philadelphia were Revs. Robert Molyneux, Ferdinand Farmer, Philadelphia; James Pellentz, Conewago; Luke Geissler, Lancaster, and John B. de Ritter, Goshenhoppen.

We hope that some educated there will embrace the ecclesiastical state. We think accordingly of establishing a seminary, in which they can be trained to the life and learning suited to that state." [1]

On the same day he replied to the letter of Prince Doria Pamphili, Archbishop of Seleucia and Apostolic Nuncio at Paris, thanking him for the services he had rendered the Catholics in this country and begging his future protection. In this letter, also, Rev. Dr. Carroll laid stress on the great jealousy felt in the United States of any foreign dependence even in ecclesiastical matters, but renewing the assurance of the absolute fidelity of the Catholics in the United States to the Holy See.[2]

Having thus accepted a position which he declared to be "a very delicate one in this country and very laborious," the Rev. Dr. Carroll entered on the discharge of its duties. So fearful was he that trouble would arise if the nature of his position was made known to the clergy and faithful in general, that he did not transmit copies of the documents which he had received from Rome, but communicated his appointment to the presiding priest in each district, that it might be imparted to the rest.

On the 12th of January, 1785, he transmitted to Rev. Ferdinand Farmer and Rev. Leonard Neale at Philadelphia power to publish the Jubilee, which was extended to the United States from November 26, 1784, to November 26, 1785. As the Sovereign Pontiff had added a special commission, empowering him to exchange the enjoined exercises of piety into other good works, Dr. Carroll wrote:

[1] "Relatio pro Eminentissimo Cardinali Antonello de statu religionis in Unitis Fœd. Americæ provinciis."

[2] Letter February 27, 1785.

"As the circumstances of the country do not admit of the faithful visiting four different churches, in lieu thereof be pleased to direct: 1, that the inhabitants of towns where there is a chapel convenient for the purpose, with the Blessed Sacrament kept in it, must visit the said chapel fifteen successive or interrupted days, and there devoutly recite either the Litany of the Saints or Seven Our Fathers and seven Hail Marys, &c., for the intention expressed in his Holiness' constitution: 2, that they who live in the country, or in other places not having the convenience of a chapel with the Blessed Sacrament kept in it, or who living in towns having such a chapel, are nevertheless deprived of all opportunity of visiting it, being servants or slaves, shall likewise recite the Litany aforesaid, or seven times the Lord's prayer and Angelical Salutation for the space of fifteen days, either continued or interrupted. 3, that on two Fridays happening within the term of performing the devotions aforesaid, all persons obliged to keep the usual fasts of the church and who are desirous of gaining the benefit of the Jubilee, shall likewise keep fast; and they whose health, age, or other lawful cause, exempts them from fasting at other times, on the Fridays aforesaid shall recite either the Seven Penitential Psalms, or twice Seven Our Fathers and Hail Marys.

"And I hope that you will appoint to your respective congregations a time for the commencement of their devotions for gaining the Jubilee, in which you may remain several days amongst them, and that they begin their spiritual exercises by seeking in the Sacrament of Penance their reconciliation with Almighty God, and recovery of a state of grace, if needful; and likewise that they have an opportunity to conclude all the other penitential works with receiving the Blessed Sacrament."

The Very Rev. Prefect did not at once publish any Lenten Regulations, but added: "Finding it impossible, till I have better opportunity of conversing with the several gentlemen, to fix a general and equitable rule of keeping Lent for all the different congregations, I request each of you to make such regulations for this year, for those under your charge, as you shall, in prudence, think proper."[1]

The general condition of the Church in the United States, so far as he knew it, was given in his Report to the Propaganda: but he soon found it necessary to write: "The prospect before us is immense, but the want of cultivators to enter the field and improve it is a dreadful and discouraging circumstance. I receive applications from every part of the United States, North, South, and West, for clergymen, and considerable property is offered for their maintenance; but it is impossible and cruel to abandon the congregations already formed to go in quest of people who wish to be established into new ones. I have written in a pressing manner to all whom I conceive likely to come to our assistance, and I hope you will urge the return hither of Charles and Francis Neale, Leonard Brooks, and Thompson, if his health will allow. Encourage all you can meet with, Europeans or Americans, to come among us. We hope soon to have a sum of money lodged in London to pay the passage of six at least."[2]

He learned, too, soon after his appointment that there were priests already in the country, who had held no intercourse with the older missioners. Some of these had been chaplains in the French service, and returned or been recalled by congregations. Among these were the Rev. Charles Whelan, a

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Rev. Messrs. Farmer and Neale, January 12, 1785.

[2] Same to Rev. Charles Plowden, June 29, 1785.

Capuchin, who, invited by the Catholics of New York, had recently arrived; the Rev. Father Paul or Mr. de St. Pierre, a discalced Carmelite, of German birth, but who had been chaplain in the French service; Rev. J. B. Causse, and the Sulpitian Huet de la Valinière, who, expelled from Canada for his advocacy of the American cause, had since been attending Canadians and Acadians within the American lines.

The Holy See in establishing the prefecture looked forward to a supply of priests, and offered to educate two young men at the Propaganda; but at the moment Dr. Carroll did not see his way to profit by this offer. The King of France, in this instance evincing a real interest in the Church in this country, also offered eight free places in the Seminary of Bordeaux for North-American Catholic youths born subjects of the United States.[1]

Of the new congregations that had been formed in the United States after the peace, the most important was that of New York. Before the commencement of the Revolutionary war, Father Farmer had visited that city, and according to two French dispatches, the Catholics actually had a church which was burnt during the war, apparently in the great fire that followed the retreat of Washington's army.[2] As soon as the city was evacuated by the British troops, Rev. Mr. Farmer came openly to the city and organized the little body of the faithful. The number of Catholics was inconsiderable, and many of them, though long deprived of the sacraments, showed little inclination to frequent them. At the close of 1784, the venerable priest, who must have visited New York during the term of his Jersey missions, which took up from

[1] Rev. Mr. Thorpe to Very Rev. J. Carroll, Rome, August 31, 1785.

[2] Barbé Marbois to Vergennes, December 20, 1784; Otto to same, January 2, 1786.

April to June and the month of October, could reckon only eighteen communicants, three of whom were Germans.[1]

In October, 1784, the Rev. Charles Whelan, who had served as a chaplain on De Grasse's fleet, and who had apparently returned to Ireland after the defeat of that Admiral, arrived in New York,[2] having been invited by the Catholics of that city; and the venerable Mr. Farmer gladly committed the care of the faithful there to him. The Rev. Dr. Carroll was perplexed as to his authority in regard to him. He could not grant faculties to any one who was not sent or approved by the Propaganda, and he at first intimated to Father Whelan that he had no power to grant him faculties. On further consideration, however, he decided that all priests actually in the country before the decree of his appointment reached him were made sharers in the faculties granted, and he authorized the Capuchin Father to proceed. It was a sign of coming difficulties that Father Whelan officiated without waiting for faculties.[3]

New York was then the capital of the United States and the residence of the foreign ministers, several of whom were Catholics, and while Congress was in session, Catholic members resided here. All this gave a social influence that encouraged the faithful. The little flock was too poor, how-

[1] Rev. F. Farmer to Very Rev. Dr. Carroll, May 10–16, 1785. The Register of Rev. F. Farmer has no allusion to any mission in New York. Several years ago Rt. Rev. Dr. Bayley, then Bishop of Newark, told me that he understood that the Register mentioned his visiting Wall Street. I twice carefully examined the Register, and could find only a mention of the Wallkill, a well-known stream of water in New Jersey.

[2] It would seem that Father Whelan at first acted merely as private chaplain to a Portuguese merchant, apparently José Ruiz Silva. Don Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, New York, July 25, 1785.

[3] Very Rev. John Carroll to Rev. Mr. Whelan, April 16, 1785.

ever, to secure at once a permanent place where they could assemble for divine worship. They met in various halls of which they could obtain temporary use.

The French embassy was transferred to New York, and with it, the chaplain and his whole chapel outfit. On the 27th of March, 1785, Barbé Marbois wrote with characteristic complacency, "The establishment of the Legation chapel at New York will give the Catholics of that city all the spiritual aid that they can desire."[1] But though the chaplain remained after the departure of the minister, there is no trace of any services rendered by him to the Catholics in New York, though he did act as chaplain at the Spanish embassy.[2]

The one to whom the Catholics of the great city owe most is Hector St. John de Crêvecœur, Consul-General of France, who had served brilliantly under Montcalm in Canada, and after the war became a farmer in New York. Though by no means a fervent Catholic, St. John de Crêvecœur, who had acquired influence here by his "Letters of an American Farmer," seems to have taken the lead in organizing the Catholics in the city, and inspiring them with courage. In their name he applied in April, 1785, to the city authorities for the use of the Exchange on Broad Street, a building then entirely unoccupied; but the Common Council refused to permit the

[1] Barbé Marbois, Trenton, December 20, 1784; Philadelphia, March 27, 1785.

[2] Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, New York, July 25, 1785. Rev. Mr. Farmer was evidently in New York about this time. His Register records the baptism May 2, 1785, of Catharine, born October 31, 1783, of William Byron and Wilhelmina, the sponsors being Patrick Coffe and Sarah Canane. He then visited his Jersey missions. "He is no more fit to take that journey," wrote Father Molyneux when his associate set out in April, "than I am to fast forty days and nights like St. Stylites without eating or drinking." Letter to Dr. Carroll, April 23, 1785. "U. S. Cath. Mag.," iv., p. 192.

Catholics to assemble there on Sunday.[1] St. John de Crêvecœur resented the act as an indignity to himself and the Catholic body. Roused by him, the Catholics of New York resolved to secure ground and erect a church. A law had been passed for the incorporation of religious societies, and under its provisions, St. John de Crêvecœur, José Ruiz Silva, James Stewart, and Henry Duffin were incorporated on the 10th of June, 1785, as "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York." There was some difficulty in obtaining a site, but during the summer Father Whelan, guided, it is said, by Mr. Silva's judgment, bought a lease of five lots on Barclay Street extending to Church. A carpenter's-shop standing on this ground became a temporary church building for the Catholic body on New York Island. In August, Trinity Church, which owned the fee, encouraged the little flock of Catholics by agreeing to sell them the reversion on easy terms, and more than fulfilled the promise.[2] Castiglioni, an Italian traveller here at the time, mentions the poor place in which the holy sacrifice was offered, and states that the congregation, which was neither numerous nor rich, evinced good-will in their endeavor to erect a suitable church.[3]

The Spanish minister, not to be without means of hearing mass even on Sundays and holidays, applied to his government for a chaplain and chapel. The King of Spain readily granted the request, and Father John O'Connell, then Vicar

[1] Letter of Catholics to Mr. de Crêvecœur to obtain of the city a site for a church.—Crêvecœur's petition to the Common Council. "Archives des Affaires Etrangères." Carton du Consulat de New York, 1783–8.

[2] Records of Trinity. Reply of Trinity Church, "Archives des Affaires Etrangères."

[3] Luizi Castiglioni, "Viaggio negli Stati Uniti," Milano, 1790, i., p. 177.

of the Hospital of the Irish Dominicans at Bilboa, was selected, and arrived May 17, 1786. Señor Gardoqui endeavored to obtain plate and vestments for his chapel at New Orleans, but failing, purchased of John Leamy in Philadelphia vestments, a silver chalice, crucifix, and candlesticks, with all other requisites for a chapel, for six hundred and nine dollars and one real.

New York had thus two legation chapels and a church begun. The French chaplain did not remain long, but Father O'Connell, besides his duties at the embassy, seems to have done mission work in the city. He solicited the ordinary faculties granted to missionaries to enable him to exercise the ministry and give aid to the Catholics in New York. Such faculties were actually granted by the Archbishop of Corinth, Papal Nuncio to the Spanish Court, at the request of the King. He was the first of the Irish Dominicans to serve in this country, and we may infer that he paved the way for the brilliant, able, and good priests of the Irish province, who subsequently labored in New York and Philadelphia.[1]

The soldiers of "Congress' Own," the two Canadian regiments and their families, were left at the close of the war in great distress. Many of them, with other Canadian refugees, gathered near Fishkill till the State of New York set apart lands for them near Lake Champlain. The general government provided transportation, and in the summer of 1786 two hundred and fifty were conveyed to their new homes in

[1] Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, New York, July 25, 1785; May 26, 1786; December 6, 1787. Letter of Otamendi, Madrid, December 22, 1785; January 12, March 13, 1786. Letter to Archbishop Corinth, San Ildefonso, July 28, 1787, from Archbishop, July 31, 1787. Father O'Connell's name appears as a subscriber in Carey, "American Museum," iii., p. 5. He left New York toward the close of 1789.

Chazy and Coopersville.[1] They were thus within access of the Catholic clergy in Canada, but in that province the ban of excommunication rested on them. Hence they were long without a priest, and though they assembled to say mass prayers and sing their old hymns, many in time were lost to the faith.[2]

Beyond New York a few Catholics were to be found at Boston, but they had as yet made no attempt to obtain a priest or a place for divine service.

The Penobscot Indians in the District of Maine were attended by a priest from Montreal, but some of the younger men had been drawn away by Protestant ministers, and the priest, fearing for his life, had withdrawn to an island in the river.

The German priests were gradually sinking, and Rev. Mr. Pellentz wrote about this time to a friend in Germany that some clergymen from that country were much needed in Pennsylvania, and that if one or two selected and recommended by his friend would come, their passages should be paid; and Rev. Mr. Pellentz devoted £100 to meet this expense.[3]

This letter fell into the hands of an officious clergyman at Mentz, who had it printed in an ecclesiastical journal in that city. This induced two Capuchin Fathers to come over in 1787 without any further correspondence.[4] Other priests followed unsolicited and unexpected.

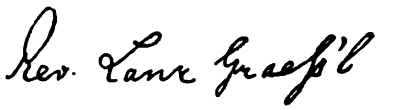
[1] Notice of Udney Hay to Canadian Refugees, July 8, 1786, in "New York Packet."

[2] Smith, "A History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg," New York, pp. 157–8; 13, 21–28.

[3] Letter of Right Rev. John Carroll, August 24, 1798.

[4] One of these Capuchins, Rev. Charles Helbron, was recalled to Europe, and became one of the martyred priests of the French Revolution. Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Carroll, August 14, 1790.

About the same time the venerable Ferdinand Farmer, in letters from Germany, heard of the character and estimable qualities of Rev. Lawrence Graessel, who was in the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at the time of the suppression, and had since been ordained a priest.[1] Rev. Mr. Farmer earnestly invited him to give his services to the country which he himself had bedewed with his sweat, and expressed the pleasure he should feel in having him as his fellow-laborer. Rev. Mr. Graessel resigned his position, already one of importance, with flattering prospects of preferment, and hastened across the Atlantic to place himself under the venerable Mr. Farmer.



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. AL. GRAESSEL.

Before he arrived, however, that laborious missionary had breathed his last. The Very Rev. Carroll, carrying out the views of the Rev. Mr. Farmer, placed Mr. Graessel and the Rev. Francis Beeston, an English priest who had recently arrived in this country, as assistants to Rev. Robert Molyneux at St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches, Philadelphia, giving the German priest especial charge of his countrymen. The former church was still used for service, for the venerable Farmer states in one of his last letters that it was generally crowded full at the first mass.[2]

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, August 18, 1786. Very Rev. Dr. Carroll's reply to Smyth's pamphlet. That discontented priest had assailed the Prefect-Apostolic for appointing to Philadelphia the holy and devoted Graessel. See also Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., pp. 47, 318; Treacy, in "Woodstock Letters," xv., p. 99. The Rev. Hubert Hartmann, S.J., has succeeded in finding the Periodical in which Rev. Mr. Pellentz's letter appeared.

[2] Rev. F. Farmer to Very Rev. J. Carroll, March 13, 1785.

The peace established in 1783, throwing open the country to immigration, and the valley of the Mississippi to settlement, produced great changes in the Catholic body in the United States, by removals within and emigration from without.

People came from Europe to seek their fortunes or fix their homes in the New Republic, and thronged the seaports on the Atlantic from Boston to Savannah. Not a few of these were Catholics, and little bodies of the faithful gathered in Boston, New York, and Charleston, while others penetrated inland to join friends or relatives.

At the same time a movement to colonize the West spread through the country on the Atlantic coast. Catholics were influenced by the general feeling. From several parts of Maryland bodies began to move toward Kentucky.[1] In Pennsylvania Catholics in the old mission districts of Conewago and Goshenhoppen, who had toiled in the less productive parts of the State, looked longingly toward the fertile lands beyond the Alleghanies.

Maryland Catholics began to emigrate to Kentucky as early as 1774, William Coomes and Dr. George Hart being the pioneers, and in this year (1785) twenty-five families of a league of sixty Catholic families set out from St. Mary's County, Maryland, to settle on lands which they had taken up on Pottinger's Creek.[2] The first priest to visit them was the Carmelite, Rev. Paul de St. Pierre, who was at Baltimore

[1] The Spanish government endeavored to draw some of these to Florida. Rev. C. Whelan to Don Diego de Gardoqui, Leonardtown, March 27, 1787.

[2] Webb, "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," Louisville, 1884, pp. 27–8; Spalding, "Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky," pp. 23, 25; "U. S. Catholic Miscellany," iii., p. 337, December 1, 1824.

in 1784, endeavoring to obtain faculties, and set out by way of Pittsburgh for the West. He was at Louisville in February, and wrote to Dr. Carroll that he intended visiting the Catholics in Kentucky several times a year, taking up his residence near Mr. Lancaster.[1] He did not, however, remain, but appears at Vincennes and Cahokia from 1785 to 1787.[2]

The next year another party of Catholics settled on Hardin's Creek. In 1787 Bardstown was the home of another cluster of Catholic families; and the Rev. Charles Whelan from Maryland, after a journey fraught with peril, took up his residence among the pioneers at Pottinger's Creek, and remained till the spring of 1790, visiting several stations, but



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. PAUL DE ST. PIERRE.

he did not erect a church or chapel. Becoming involved in trouble with some of his flock he withdrew from Kentucky. The Dominican Father William de Rohan, in 1787 erected the Church of the Holy Cross at Pottinger's Creek, the cradle of Catholicity in Kentucky. It was the first structure for Catholic worship erected in the State.[3]

The report and letter of Rev. Dr. Carroll gave much pleasure to the Cardinal Prefect and to his Holiness when they were communicated to him. Cardinal Antonelli ex-

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to [Rev. Mr. de St. Pierre] August 19, 1785.

[2] Register of Vincennes, March 30, 1785. "Lettre des Habitans des Cahos à M. Lavaliniere," 22 Avril, 1787.

[3] Webb, "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," p. 32. Letter of Rev. Mr. St. Pierre to Very Rev. John Carroll; "Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky," Paris, 1821, pp. 1–2.

pressed all this in a letter dated July 23, 1785, in which he assured Dr. Carroll that it had been the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff to appoint him as the first to hold the episcopal dignity. The erection of a Vicariate or See was deferred, however, in conformity with the wish of the American clergy, and they were even permitted for this first occasion to nominate a candidate. It was further stated that the Sacred Congregation would have no difficulty in consenting that in future the missionaries should nominate two or three from whom the Sacred Congregation would make a selection.

As it was deemed better to defer the appointment till provision had been made for continuing the supply of missionaries and providing for the support of a Vicar-Apostolic, this opinion of the American clergy also had its influence in causing the Holy See to defer an appointment.

Meanwhile greater powers were accorded to the Prefect-Apostolic, who was again urged to send two American youths to the Urban College in Rome.[1]

Having obtained holy Chrism, the Very Rev. Prefect began his visitation in the summer of 1785, the congregations in Maryland receiving his first attention. It is probable that he laid the corner-stone of the new church at St. Inigoes, on the 13th of July, when Rev. Mr. Walton began its erection. But we have no details of the state of the different missions as Dr. Carroll found them at this time.[2] On the 22d of September he again left his home at Rock Creek "on a progress to administer confirmation at Philadelphia, New York, and in the upper counties of the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, where

[1] Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide to Dr. Carroll, July 28, 1785.

[2] Some speak of confirmation in Philadelphia prior to this date, but he could not possibly have conferred it.

our worthy German brethren have formed congregations," as he himself records.[1]

Of this visitation we have unfortunately no account.[2] It extended as far as New York, and confirmation was administered there and in Philadelphia, and possibly at some intermediate places.

In New York, Father Andrew Nugent's credentials appeared to be satisfactory, but Dr. Carroll, under the conditions imposed by the Propaganda, could give him no faculties. Yet he very soon tried to supplant Father Whelan, and the trustees seemed anxious to have the latter removed. The Prefect-Apostolic met the trustees and the clergymen, and articles were agreed to, which apparently settled all difficulties. These he prudently left in writing with them.

In Philadelphia the Rev. Robert Molyneux purchased early in 1785, at a cost of £600, a lot adjoining St. Joseph's church, and proposed to sell a less desirable portion so as to make the church property sixty feet wide by one hundred and forty deep. This gave them a free passage to Walnut Street, and space on which to erect a presbytery. The old chapel was generally overcrowded at the first mass, and as one of the two priests was often absent on Sundays and holidays, attending missions and stations, Father Farmer solicited a permission, unusual then, of saying two masses. Indeed he felt that two priests were inadequate to the wants of the growing Catholic body. "Philadelphia," he wrote, "will always want three or four Priests."

The Recollect Father Bandol, chaplain of the French em-

[1] Letter to Rev. C. Plowden, September 22, 1785. "U. S. Cath. Mag.," iv., p. 249.

[2] We might almost doubt whether he actually set out, but for a letter of Father Farmer dated March 30, 1786, speaking of events that occurred after he left New York. Ib., vi., p. 147.

bassy till its removal to New York, had evidently officiated from time to time at St. Joseph's, since Father Farmer in March, 1785, seems to regret the loss of his aid when he announces that the Abbé was to sail to Europe in the next month.[1] When he did so, he bore letters of Rev. Dr. Carroll to the Nuncio at Paris.[2]

Rev. Mr. Molyneux wrote: "I hope you will consider us, and order Mr. Geissler to our assistance if possible. It is pleasing to me, to Mr. Farmer, and he himself is sensible of the necessity. For my part, I have no private views, the public good is all I seek. Yet after all I will not dissemble, that it would be very agreeable to me to live elsewhere than in Philadelphia. I really feel the labor of this place, and thirteen years is not a short time to have felt it. Every day the labor increases, and my ability decreases."[3]

The Dominican Father William O'Brien was also in Philadelphia, and the city was occasionally visited by Rev. Huet de la Valinière, who attended the French, and Rev. T. Hassett, who officiated for the Spanish residents or sojourners.[4]

Dr. Carroll next visited stations in Virginia, and returning to Rock Creek, January 11, 1786, found letters from New York fraught with importance.

Things were in a dangerous condition. On the 18th of December, two adherents of Nugent had seized the collection taken up at the mass: and the trustees demanded the re-

[1] Rev. Messrs. Molyneux and Farmer to Very Rev. J. Carroll March 13th to August 24, 1785. "Woodstock Letters," xv., p.°61.

[2] Very Rev. J. Carroll to the Nuncio, March 6, 1785. The chapel of the embassy was removed to New York apparently in 1784. Letter of Marbois to Minister, December 26, 1784.

[3] Rev. R. Molyneux to Very Rev. J. Carroll, June 18, 1785. Ib., pp. 193–4.

[4] Rev. R. Molyneux to Very Rev. J. Carroll, March 28, 1785.

moval of Father Whelan; they even threatened to have recourse to legal means to rid themselves of him. They assumed that a congregation had a right not only to choose such clergyman as was agreeable to them, but to dismiss him at pleasure; and that after such election, the bishop or other ecclesiastical superior could not hinder him from exercising the usual functions.

Dr. Carroll wrote to both the clergymen, urging them to fraternal charity and harmony.[1] In addressing the trustees he entered fully into the dangerous and anti-Catholic ideas which they evinced: "If ever the principles there laid down should become predominant, the unity and catholicity of our church would be at an end; and it would be formed into distinct and independent societies, nearly in the same manner as the congregational Presbyterians of your neighboring New England States. A zealous clergyman performing his duty courageously and without respect of persons, would be always liable to be the victim of his earnest endeavors to stop the progress of vice and evil example, and others more complying with the passions of some principal persons of the congregation would be substituted in his room: and if the ecclesiastical superior has no control in these instances, I will refer it to your own judgment what the consequences may be. The great source of misconception in this matter, is that an idea appears to be taken both by you and Mr. Whelan, that the officiating clergyman at New York is a parish priest, whereas there is yet no such office in the United States. The hierarchy of our American Church not being yet constituted, no parishes are formed; and the clergy coming to the assistance of the faithful, are but voluntary laborers in the vine-

[1] Very Rev. Dr. Carroll to Rev. A. Nugent, Rock Creek, January 17, 1786; same to Rev. Mr. Whelan, January 18.

yard of Christ, not vested with ordinary jurisdiction annexed to their office, but exercising it as a delegated and extra-hierarchical commission."[1]

He explained that no valid grounds had been given him for withdrawing faculties from Father Whelan, and he told them that if that priest left, he could not under the instructions from Rome empower either Father Nugent or the Rev. Huet de la Valinière to officiate in New York, so that they would be without a priest to say mass for them. As to their threat of attempting to drive Father Whelan from the altar by process of law, Dr. Carroll wrote: "I cannot tell what assistance the laws might give you; but allow me to say, that you can take no step so fatal to that respectability in which as a religious society you wish to stand, or more prejudicial to the Catholic cause. I must therefore entreat you to decline a design so pernicious to all your prospects; and protesting against measures so extreme, I explicitly declare, that no clergyman, be he who he may, shall receive any spiritual powers from me who shall advise or countenance so unnecessary and prejudicial a proceeding."[2]

Much of the spring was devoted by Dr. Carroll to visitation and conferring the sacrament of Confirmation. On the 13th of March he began a letter to Cardinal Antonelli, but before completing it received a letter from him repeating the satisfaction of his Holiness Pope Pius VI. at his report on the condition of the Church in the United States, and removing the restriction in regard to missionaries contained in his original instructions.[3]

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Trustees, New York, January 25.

[2] Same to Rev. Mr. Nugent, January 17, 1786; same to Rev. Mr. Whelan, January 17, 1786; same to Messrs. Lynch and Stoughton, January 25, 1786; same to Rev. Mr. Whelan, January 28, 1786.

[3] Cardinal Antonelli to Very Rev. J. Carroll, July 23, 1785.

Before he completed the letter to Rome he had to deplore the loss of two excellent and devoted priests, Rev. Luke Geissler, who died at Conewago on the 10th of August, and Rev. Ferdinand Farmer, who expired just a week afterward at Philadelphia.[1] Both were of that band of excellent missionaries whom the Jesuit provinces in Germany had sent to America to attend their countrymen, but whose labors were given unstintedly to all Catholics. Rev. Luke Geissler, born in 1735, entered the Society of Jesus in 1756 and became a professed Father in 1772. He had then been in this country for six years, and died, after twenty years' labor in this fold, Lancaster and its missions being especially blessed with his ministry.[2] Rev. Ferdinand Steynmeyer, known on the American mission as "Father Farmer," was one of the most illustrious priests connected with the Church in the British colonies and the Republic in its early days. He was a fruitful laborer at Lancaster and Philadelphia, with their dependent stations; as successor of Father Schneider he attended the scattered Catholics in New Jersey, from Delaware Bay to Greenwood Lake, and founded the Catholic Church in New York State, exercising the ministry at Warwick, Fishkill, and New York City, organizing the church in the last-named place. He was born in the Circle of Suabia, Germany, October 13, 1720, and was received into the Society of Jesus September 26, 1743. He solicited an appointment to the work of spreading the Gospel in China, but in obedience to his superiors came to America. "He began his mission at Lancaster, where he resided six years, in all the poverty and humility of an apostle." Then he became con-

[1] Two priests—one English, the other from the Lower Rhine—arrived before August. Rev. Dr. Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, August, 1786.

[2] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 291.

nected with St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia. While laboring as an obscure missioner in Pennsylvania he corresponded with learned societies in Europe, who recognized his great mathematical ability. When Rev. Dr. Carroll was appointed Prefect-Apostolic, he found the Rev. Mr. Farmer a wise counsellor and a prompt and ready coadjutor in the great work confided to him. His merit was recognized by all, and he filled, as trustee of the University of Philadelphia, a position which revived prejudice has since made inaccessible to a Catholic. Undeterred by failing health he set out in 1786 to visit his New Jersey missions. It was the last priestly work of the apostle of that State. He then crossed into New York and baptized seven near Warwick, Orange County, one of them James Shea, son of Cornelius and Frances. Then we find him at Mount Hope and Ringwood. His carefully kept Register closes with an entry on the 30th of July.

The Registers kept by this great and learned priest are still preserved, and are one of the consoling monuments of early Catholicity in Philadelphia. His funeral sermon was preached by his associate, Rev. Robert Molyneux.[1]

The Very Rev. Dr. Carroll felt deeply the loss of this able clergyman, and described him as a priest who had spent many years at Philadelphia in the practice of all kinds of virtue and labor for the salvation of souls, and closed his life full of merits by what may well be regarded as a most holy death.[2]

The project of erecting a church at New York was advancing by the energy of St. John de Crêvecœur and the patron-

[1] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 739; Molyneux, "A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Ferdinand Farmer, who departed this life the 17th August, 1786, in the 66th year of his age." Philadelphia, C. Talbot, 1786. Reprinted by the late Rev. J. M. Finotti, Boston.

[2] Very Rev. John Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, January 12, 1787.

age of Don Diego de Gardoqui. Father Whelan and the trustees of the congregation undertook the erection of the edifice with courage, adopting a plan beyond their actual means, but hopefully looking forward to future progress. It was to be a handsome brick structure, with a square tower, forty-eight feet front by eighty-one in depth. They addressed petitions for aid to the Kings of France and Spain, the latter forwarded through Don Diego de Gardoqui, who furthermore consented to lay the corner-stone.[1] This ceremony took place on the 5th of October, 1785, between the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock, in the presence of a large assemblage. The Spanish minister placed in the corner-stone specimens of the coinage of King Charles IV. struck that year, and in conformity with the desire of the congregation named the church[2] St. Peter's. They were not, however, able to proceed with the work at once, but continued collecting funds for the purpose in New York and Europe.

Their appeal to the French King seems to have met with no response, active and generous as Mr. de Crêvecœur had shown himself:[3] that to King Charles IV. of Spain was at

[1] Don Diego de Gardoqui to the Conde de Floridablanca, New York, September 3, 1785. The petition inclosed is signed by José Ruiz Silva, Henry Duffin, and Stewart, and states the purchase of ground, the difficulty of collecting means on account of the poverty of the faithful, many of whom had lost all in the late war. Very Rev. John Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, January 12, 1787.

[2] "New York Packet," October 10, 1785. Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, November 21, 1785, inclosing translation of a report of the ceremony. Crêvecœur, "Vie de St. John de Crêvecœur," Paris, 1883, p. 109, etc.

[3] Authorization of Trustees to Mr. de Crêvecœur to collect in France; Circular of Catholics to open a subscription. Carton du Consulat de New York. Unfortunately the books are no longer extant to show the amount he obtained from the faithful here and elsewhere. They were still preserved in my boyhood, and my grandfather's name appeared. Crêvecœur's successor as Consul to New York, Mr. Otto, a Protestant,

once taken into consideration, and it was at first proposed to give funds from the revenues of Mexico; but as this might prove a long and tedious way, Señor Gardoqui was directed to pay one thousand dollars as the contribution of his Catholic Majesty.[1] The Trustees received the money in June, 1786, and addressed the Spanish Minister expressing their obligation to King Charles, and subsequently asked him to select a pew for the perpetual use of the Spanish legation.[2] The Very Rev. Prefect-Apostolic also wrote to Don Diego de Gardoqui to express his thanks for the generosity manifested by the Spanish monarch.[3]

Meanwhile a carpenter's-shop which stood on the leasehold property they had acquired on Barclay Street was fitted up as a temporary chapel.[4] It was not till the 26th of May following that an advertisement appeared in one of the New York papers, calling for proposals from masons and carpenters.[5] Notwithstanding the feeling that had been excited against him, Father Whelan pushed the work on actively during the summer. The Catholic body felt a reasonable pride at its progress, and urged the Prefect-Apostolic to solicit the faculty to consecrate it on its completion.

wrote January 2, 1786: "It would be impolitic to support Catholicity too openly. Mr. Otto has accordingly refused to give the Catholic priest at New York contributions solicited for rebuilding the Church burned during the war. Mr. de Gardoqui has made a donation and laid the corner-stone."

[1] Letters of the Marquis de Sonora, December 8, 1785; January 28, March 18, 1786. That of March 18 announces the king's donation.

[2] Letter and receipt of Trustees, June 20, 1786; October 28, 1786.

[3] Very Rev. John Carroll to Don Diego de Gardoqui, November 14, 1786, inclosed in letter to Conde de Floridablanca, December 31, 1786.

[4] An Italian gentleman, Mr. Trapani, whose grandsons were my schoolfellows, told me in my boyhood of his attending mass in this structure.

[5] "New York Gazetteer and County Journal," May 26, 1786; "New York Packet," June 1, 1786.

Before the edifice was ready to be dedicated to the service of God, Father Whelan yielded to the turbulent opposition raised against him, chiefly because he was not sufficiently eloquent to please some who neglected the sacraments, but were very much inclined to interfere in the management of the church. Father Whelan, a priest of irreproachable life and devoted to his calling, at last relinquished the struggle and resigned his position in February, 1787, without having the consolation of witnessing the opening of the church for which he had labored so unselfishly.[1]

This left New York with no priest except Rev. Huet de la Valinière, who had looked after the French and Canadians, and to whom powers were forwarded to attend the Catholics generally; and Rev. Father Andrew Nugent, Capuchin. The Very Rev. Dr. Carroll fully recognized the importance of the New York mission, and would gladly have confided the faithful there to a priest of eminent virtue and ability. But he had no one to send, and had no alternative but to give temporary faculties, as he reluctantly did, to Rev. Andrew Nugent, making them expressly usque ad revocationem. "I am pleased and edified," he wrote, "with the steadfast faith of the Roman Catholics of New York. You will not fail to use your unwearied endeavors to encourage amongst them the union of works with faith, and particularly the frequentation of the Sacraments. I am afraid you will have much difficulty in prevailing over the contrary habits of grown people; but the rising generation may be formed to the practises best calculated to nourish a spirit of prayer and the fear of God. My best wishes attend them all."

The frequentation of the sacraments had been steadily in-

[1] Bayley, "A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church."

culcated for generations in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and all, whether of English, Irish, or German origin, were regular in approaching the holy table; but in Ireland at this period, owing to the influence acquired at Louvain and other schools on the continent, many of the clergy discouraged rather than encouraged frequent communion. Those who emigrated to America were often of the more restless and less pious class, and they did not keep up the habits of their old home. This made the services of a zealous priest all the more necessary.

The Rev. Mr. La Valinière at this time had his little French flock, and was busy preparing a kind of Catechism in French and English and forming schemes for seminaries and churches in the chief cities of the country. A more tangible project was that of purchasing a disused Protestant church in



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. P. HUET DE LA VALINIÈRE.

the city of New York for his French-speaking flock. For this he solicited aid from the French government, but Barbé Marbois, knowing his erratic character, opposed the scheme.[1]

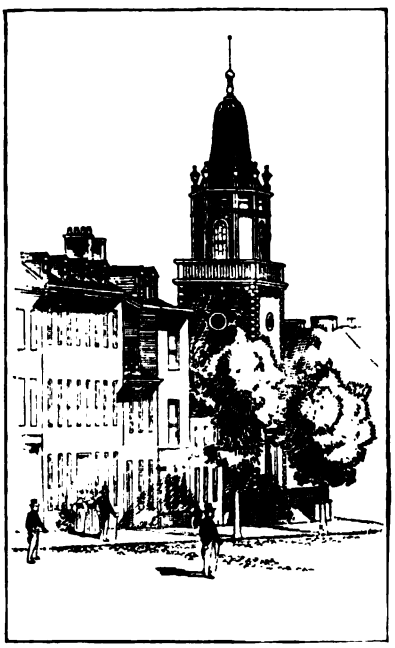
The summer of 1786 was one of more than ordinary heat. Sickness prevailed, travelling was difficult and laborious, so that Very Rev. Dr. Carroll was compelled to suspend his visitation and remain at Rock Creek, which was still his residence and mission.

The authorities at Rome expressed their pleasure at the progress of the faith in New York, and intimated that "although very seldom granted to priests not having the episco-

[1] Barbé Marbois to Vergennes, January 2, 1786.

pal character," faculty might be conferred on him to consecrate St. Peter's Church, New York.

That edifice was so far advanced that in compliment to Charles IV. of Spain, his feast-day, November 4th, dedicated to St. Charles Borromeo, was selected for the celebration of the first mass. Don Diego de Gardoqui and his suite, as



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, NEW YORK, FROM COLTON'S ENGRAVING.

well as all Spanish residents of the city, were invited to attend, a place of honor being assigned to them. A high mass was celebrated by Father Andrew Nugent, assisted by the chaplains of the French and Spanish legations, the blessing of the church having been previously performed in private by the rector, who at the close of the mass delivered a fitting discourse.

The Spanish Minister then entertained at dinner in his house the President of the United States and his Cabinet, the Members and Secretary of Congress, the Governor of the State, the representatives of foreign powers, many of whom probably attended the services in the church.[1]

Steps were soon after taken to incorporate the Trustees of St. Peter's Church, the former incorporation being regarded as too vague. In pursuance of a notification by the rector on two successive Sundays, the congregation on the 23d of April, 1787, adopted as the title of the corporation "The Trustees for the Roman Catholic Congregation of St. Peter's Church in the City of New York in America," and proceeded to elect the first board of Trustees.[2]

At this time Rev. Charles Sewall had experienced so much difficulty in his endeavor to build up a church at Baltimore, that he lost courage, and asked to be sent to Conewago; but he finally consented to stay, the Very Rev. Prefect having decided to fix his residence in that city. "I always thought," wrote Rev. Mr. Pellentz, "that he could do more for God's greater glory and the salvation of souls in Baltimore than here. For that reason, I advised him in his troubles to have patience and to take courage. To the same intent I called to his remembrance that Saints Ignatius and Teresa expected always great success when they met with serious obstacles in the beginning of a new college or monastery. The hardships Mr. Sewall suffered, made me think that Baltimore in time will be a very flourishing mission."

[1] "New York Packet," November 7, 1786; Very Rev. John Carroll to ——, November 13, 1786; Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, November 27, 1786, enclosing account of the mass and dinner.

[2] Records in the Register's office, New York.

When the Very Rev. Prefect took up his residence in Baltimore, he found to his grief that the Acadian population had degenerated greatly. The intercourse between France and the United States had led to the immigration of many adventurers. Dr. Carroll, as well as St. John de Crêvecœur, describes this class as in general bad and irreligious. "They are everywhere a scandal to religion," wrote Dr. Carroll, "with very few exceptions. Not only that, but they disseminate, as much as they can, all the principles of irreligion, of contempt for the church and disregard for the duties which both command. They have corrupted here almost entirely the principles of a numerous body of Acadians or French Neuters, and their descendants, who being expelled by the English from Nova Scotia in the war of 1755, settled and increased here."[1]

The Rev. Dr. Carroll "preached his first sermon in Baltimore on the parable of the Ten Virgins, which was much admired. The classical purity of his composition, the sweetness of his manner, and his earnest piety made a deep impression upon his audience; and on preaching a second time, soon after, he became a decided favorite. His sermons were so much admired that many Protestants attended them with great satisfaction." From this time he discharged the duties of pastor at St. Peter's Church, when not making visitations.[2]

From the time of his arrival in Baltimore, the Rev. Dr. Carroll took part in all plans for the general improvement. In 1786 he was one of the patrons of an Academy established to afford a higher education for young men than they could

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Rev. C. Plowden, October 23, 1789. I cannot find any foundation whatever for the statement that Rev. Dr. Carroll was a missionary in Delaware. Rock Creek was his only charge, and he removed from that place to Baltimore.

[2] Scharf, "Chronicles of Baltimore," Baltimore, 1874, p. 248.

hitherto obtain without going to some other city.[1] As early as March 28th in that year, he was chairman of a meeting called for the purpose at Grant's Tavern.[2]

Among the other churches which made an humble beginning about this time, was that at Hagerstown, Maryland. Three lots were purchased for a graveyard by Rev. James Frambach, on the 16th of August, 1786. The first resident priest was Rev. Denis Cahill, a laborious missionary, who extended his care to Martinsburg, Shepherdstown, Winchester, and occasionally to Fort Cumberland and Chambersburg. His toil was not unrewarded; he found the people exemplary and pious; congregations increased, and in each place, except Martinsburg, ground was given for a chapel.[3] He acquired from Adam Miller, a resident of Bedford County, Pa., the site of the present Hagerstown church in 1794, the consideration being five shillings, showing that it was virtually a gift.

The Rev. Mr. Cahill erected a solid log-house, which served as house and chapel, and of which a sketch has been preserved. He left the country in 1806, and returned to Ireland, where he died some years after.[4]

While the Rev. Denis Cahill was stationed at Hagerstown, he attended several missions in Maryland and Virginia, among others Shepherdstown,[5] in the latter State. After saying mass there, or "holding church," as the saying was,

[1] B. U. Campbell, "Desultory Sketches of the Catholic Church in Maryland," "U. S. Catholic Magazine" (Religious Cabinet), i., p. 312.

[2] "Baltimore Advertiser," March 31, 1786.

[3] Reily, "Conewago," Martinsburg, pp. 116, 208. The deed was in trust to Luke Tiernan, Charles Carroll, Rev. D. Cahill, James McClellan, John Adams, James McCardell, Jos. and Wm. Clark.—Rev. Denis Cahill to Rt. Rev. J. Carroll, January 24, 1791; December, 1795.

[4] He died in 1817. Reily, p. 117.

[5] Finotti, "The Mystery of Wizard Clip. A Monograph." Baltimore, 1879. F. Mulledy's account, p. 3.

on one occasion, some of his Catholic flock brought to him a Protestant named Livingston, who told him his trouble. His house had for years been visited by spirits which annoyed him greatly and destroyed his property; he had moved from Pennsylvania to Virginia, but the persecutors followed. He was sure, too, that the priest was the person whom he beheld in a dream as one to relieve him.[1]

The Rev. Mr. Cahill made light of the matter, and told the man that some malicious neighbors must be playing pranks on him. Touched, however, by the man's evident



REV. D. CAHILL'S CHAPEL AND HOUSE, HAGERSTOWN, MD.

distress, and by the statements of Catholics who corroborated Livingston's statements, the priest went to his house in Smithfield. After sprinkling the building with holy water and reciting a few prayers, he started to go on a sick call. As he went out a sum of money that had been missing for several days lay at his feet on the threshold. The annoyance then ceased for a considerable time, to the relief of

[1] Mrs. McSherry, pp. 58, 107.

Mr. Livingston, who had applied in vain to his Protestant ministers.

When the trouble was renewed, he called upon Rev. Mr. Cahill with more faith and earnestness. Rev. Mr. Cahill said mass at the house, and received Mr. Livingston and some members of his family, to the number of fourteen, into the church, the Voice that was heard having taught them the faith and how to pray.[1] The injury to property ceased, but the Voice was frequently heard, chiefly when a death had



SITE OF LIVINGSTON'S HOUSE, FROM A DRAWING BY JAMES R. TAYLOR.[2]

occurred, or some need existed of special prayer. Its influence was always beneficial, and never caused trouble or diminished piety.

The visitations were notorious throughout the country, and the place, in consequence of the way in which articles had

[1] F. Mulledy, p. 4; Mrs. McSherry, pp. 60, 108.

[2] After Mr. Taylor made this sketch and others for me in 1864–5, I learned that his family had preserved a memory of the events, his great-grandfather having visited Livingston's place purposely to learn about it. See Finotti, p. 183, etc.

been cut, grew to be called "Wizard Clip." The Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin visited the house from Pennsylvania and investigated the statements of Livingston and his neighbors: he drew up an account, which is now unfortunately lost.

Mr. Livingston, soon after his conversion, went to Baltimore and saw Dr. Carroll, who was convinced of the man's sincerity, and that he had been supernaturally instructed.[1]

The Voice was heard by Mr. Livingston for years, and the facts were attested by his family, and their neighbors, the McSherrys. Mr. Livingston finally removed to Pennsylvania again, and gave his farm with a small house for the use of the church. Part of the ground has since been used as a cemetery: the house has yielded to decay. The place is held in reverence, the Voice having declared that it would before the end of time be a great place for prayer and fasting.[2]

Strange and wonderful as the main facts related are, they were credited after careful examination by able, learned, and far from credulous men.

The missions attended from Conewago were: Paradise, Littlestown, where a house was adapted for church purposes in 1791; Hanover, Taneytown, attended from the days of Father Frambach; Westminster, where a frame church was erected

[1] B. Mobberly, p. 18; Gallitzin, "A Letter to a Protestant Friend on the Holy Scriptures," Ebensburgh, 1820, p. 144; Letter to Catharine C. Doll, in Finotti, p. 88; Letter April 11, 1839, p. 89. Prince Gallitzin's examination was not a superficial one. "My view in coming to Virginia and remaining there three months was to investigate those extraordinary facts at Livingston's, of which I had heard so much at Conewago, and which I could not prevail upon myself to believe; but I was soon converted to a full belief of them. No lawyer in a court of justice did ever examine or cross-examine witnesses more strictly than I did all those I could procure," p. 90. Brownson, "Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin," New York, 1873, pp. 100–7.

[2] Finotti, pp. 34, 45.

about 1789 on a plot of four acres given by John Logston for the service of God; York, where a stone house purchased May 4, 1776, by Joseph Smith, was given as a pious gift to the church, and fitted up for divine worship.[1]

Father de Ritter at Goshenhoppen had his church and school, with John Lawrence Gubernator as teacher, and attended the church at Reading and stations at Oley Mountains, Cedar Creek, at Nicholas Carty's house in Haycock, at George Riffel's at Magunshi, at Henrich's, at John La Fleur's, Maiden Creek, Lehigh, Easton.

"Many old people," says the historian of Goshenhoppen, "who made their first communion in his time, and who remember him well, tell of him, that on his almost uninterrupted journeyings, he would never take his much needed repose in a bed; but with his saddle for a pillow, a little straw and a blanket, he was satisfied with a short rest, that was at once a necessary refreshment after the past, and a preparation for the coming day's labor. All speak of him as an indefatigable laborer in our little vineyard, where he died unexpectedly February 3, 1787, having celebrated mass on the festival of the preceding day. Rev. Mr. Beeston arrived in time to officiate at his funeral. His record of baptisms, beginning in 1766 with 42, rose in 1781 and the following year to 69, but declined somewhat apparently by the moving away of part of the settlers. He records the reception into the church of seventeen converts between 1781 and 1785. The Rev. Mr. de Ritter seems to have made it a rule where possible that marriages should be solemnized during mass in the church, and we find him noting that in one case he married a slave or indentured servant who produced a forged license from his master; the priest was fined £50 for the

[1] Reily, "Conewago," Martinsburg, 1885, pp. 88–144.

offence, but as he produced the forged document, the fine was remitted. In another case where he evidently had his suspicions, we find him requiring a bond of indemnity. These are traits that mark the precise and careful character of the man." [1]

The Prefect sent Rev. Peter Helbron to this mission, where he began his labors November 22, 1787: he added a steeple to the church and put up a bell weighing 112 pounds, serving Goshenhoppen and its missions till August, 1791.

At the old Catholic centre, Conewago, the energetic Rev. James Pellentz was still laboring, though he too was in failing health. Writing to the Prefect-Apostolic, he mentions that he had aided the Rev. Mr. Geissler to purchase a house in Carlisle, "to keep service in"; and that he had paid £31 for a house at the "Standing Stone," on the left bank of the Susquehanna.

This was the foundation of the mission at Carlisle under the Rev. Lucas Geissler. The first chapel is said to have been a log-house on Pomfret Street, and it was used by the Catholics till the present church of St. Patrick was completed in 1806.

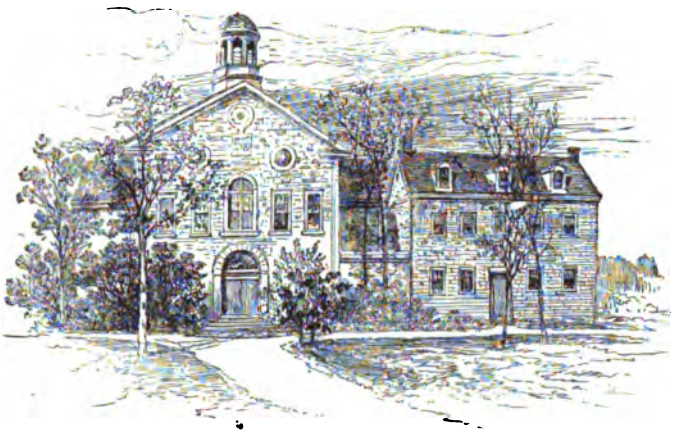
There were Catholics along the Susquehanna, at this time the pioneer being apparently Mary O'Callaghan, probably there as early as 1769; Fitzgerald and McCormick about 1783; the McDuffies at Tioga Point, now Athens.[2] These

[1] "On his tombstone, which, like Father Schneider's, was erected by Rev. Paul Erntzen, is read: Hic jacet Rev. Joan. Bapt. De Ritter, S.J. Obiit 3d Feb. 1787. Ætatis 70, Missionis 20." Woodstock Letters, 1876, v., pp. 202–213.

[2] Rev. James Pellentz to Very Rev. Dr. Carroll, October 1, 1785. "Charter of Carlisle," Carlisle, 1841; Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique." Rev. James A. Huber kindly informs me that a slab over the door gives the date 1806, correcting the statement in the Charter. Dilhet,

were visited from the old mission stations, as the Rev. Mr. Pellentz's purchase shows, though the memory of this early sanctuary of religion has faded away in the locality.

There were already Catholics in Western Pennsylvania. In 1785 a man came to Philadelphia and presented a petition to Father Farmer from Catholics in the vicinity of Pittsburg, who desired the visit of a priest at least once a year. Seventy Catholics living on or near the Monongahela at Muddy Creek, Ten-Mile Water, and Shirtee Water, signed



CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART AND RESIDENCE, CONEWAGO.

the appeal. The leading Catholic in the district then was Felix Hughes.[1]

Meanwhile the venerable Mr. Pellentz was building a stone church at Conewago, to replace the log chapel of colonial days. The work was characteristic of the man, and stands to this day, solid, firm, and unpretentious. His people had prospered, and religion was free. He selected a red

who visited it about 1806, mentions it as completed. Letter of Rev. M. J. Hoban.

[1] Rev. F. Farmer to Very Rev. John Carroll, July 19, 1785.

sandstone of very close texture, from a fine quarry at East Berlin, and every block was hauled more than ten miles to the church. The corner-stone of the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the first in the country of that title, was laid in 1786, and the edifice was completed in 1787, and a substantial residence for the clergy rose beside it. Some sixty years ago an addition was erected extending the church in length, but the church raised by Rev. James Pellentz was respected. "It stands to-day as solid and substantial as ever," says the historian of Conewago.[1]

In 1785 Lancaster received a priest in the person of the



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE REV. JAMES PELLENTZ.

Recollect Father Fidentianus (John B. Causse), who had arrived in Philadelphia several years before, and had not only been permitted to say mass, but had occasionally in case of necessity been employed by the priests at that city. He was a man of education, spoke English and French, and had won friends by his correct and gentle behavior. He was, however, restless, and deluded by false representations, had gone to Boston, and finding that he had been deceived, set out for Quebec, but was shipwrecked on the dangerous coast of Nova Scotia. After wintering at Halifax, where he found friends, he proceeded to Quebec in the spring of 1784, but in the vacancy of the See, he could not obtain employment, and

[1] Reily, "Conewago," Martinsburg, 1885, pp. 50–7; Reily, "Conewago Centennial Celebration," Martinsburg, 1887. We owe much to this painstaking and public-spirited gentleman.

finally arrived after much hardship at Philadelphia, August 5, 1785.[1]

While the Rev. John B. Causse was in charge of the church at Lancaster, he joined in a petition to the State Assembly, asking the establishment of a German charity school at that place; but the project soon took a more ambitious form, and on the 10th of March, 1787, "Franklin College," at Lancaster, was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Of this institution the Catholic priest, Rev. John B. Causse, was trustee from 1787 to 1793, when he tendered his resignation.[2]

In 1788 a permanent settlement in Western Pennsylvania was made where St. Vincent's Abbey now stands in Westmoreland County, and in March of the next year an acre and twenty perches were purchased for five shillings at Greensburg in the same county. At this place Father Causse said mass for the first time in the house of John Probst in June, 1789.[3]

Some few years later, as we will see, the Rev. Patrick

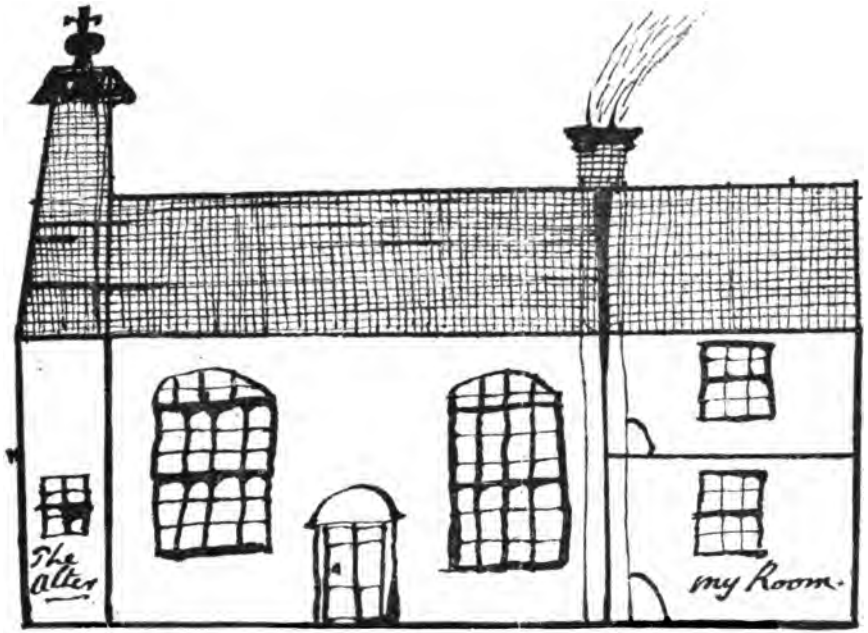
[1] Rev. Fr. Farmer to Prefect Carroll, August 1, 1785; Very Rev. J. Carroll to Rev. J. B. Causse, August 16, 1785.

[2] S. M. Sener, in "U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine," i., p. 215, citing "'Register of St. Mary's Church" and "The Independent Gazetteer" of 1785. This clergyman seems to have been led away by the factious party among the Germans, as he left Lancaster and became involved in the troubles at Baltimore, where Bishop Carroll withdrew his faculties. He had previously taken part in Philadelphia troubles: he persisted in officiating, however, and was formally excommunicated. (B. U. Campbell in "U. S. Catholic Magazine," i., p. 813; "Religious Cabinet," 1842.) He then exhibited a Panorama of Jerusalem, but recognizing his error, submitted to the Bishop. (Letter to Dr. Carroll, June 4, 1793; Rev. Wm. Elling to same, August 6, 1792.)

[3] Brownson, "Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin," New York, 1878, p. 118; Lambing, "History of the Catholic Church in the dioceses of Pittsburg and Alleghany," New York, 1880, p. 360.

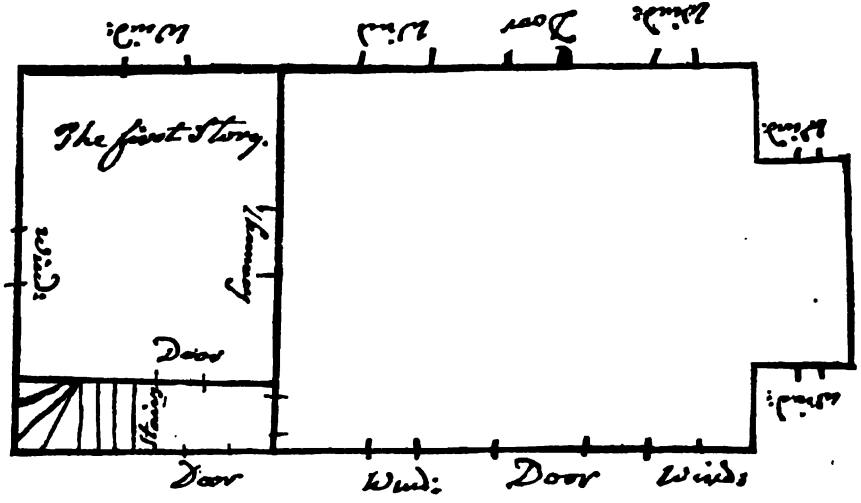
Lonergan, of the Franciscan order, attempted to found a Catholic colony in Western Pennsylvania. The Franciscans who had reared the first altar at Fort Du Quesne being succeeded in the missions beyond the Alleghanies by priests of the same order. Of the progress of the Church on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, we obtain an interesting picture in a letter of Rev. Joseph Mosley:

"I am yet on y^e^ same Farm, on which I lived, when you wrote to me last. I've informed you many years ago of my Purchase of it, in what situation it was first in, & what I really suffer'd in settling it. I've been on it now twenty long Years, & I've made it, thro' God's Help, both agreable & profitable to myself & to my successors; not knowing y^e^ Length of Life, my chief aim was to make it convenient, happy and easey to my successors, that they might with some Comfort continue a flourishing mission that I have begun; when I first settled I had not one of my own Profession nigher than six or seven mile, but now, thro' God's particular Blessings, I've many families joining, and all round me. The Toleration here granted by y^e^ Bill of Rights has put all on y^e^ same footing, & has been of great service to us. The Methodists, who have started up chiefly since y^r^ war, have brought over to themselves, chief of y^e^ former Protes . . . ts, on y^e^ Eastern shore of Maryland, where I live. The Prot t ministers having no fixt Sallery by Law, as heretofore, have abandoned their Flocks, which are now squander'd & joined different societies. We've had some share. Since y^e^ commencement of y^e^ War, I've built on my Farm a brick Chapel & dwelling House. It was a difficult & bold undertaking at that time, as every necessary, especially Nails, were very dear. I began it, trusting on Providence & I've happily finished, without any assistance either from our Gentlemen or my Congregation. The whole



REV. JOSEPH MOSLEY'S CHAPEL HOUSE AT ST. JOSEPH'S, (ELEVATION).

(From a rough pen-drawing by him.)



REV. JOSEPH MOSLEY'S CHAPEL HOUSE AT ST. JOSEPH'S, (GROUND PLAN).

(From a rough pen-drawing by him.)

Building is 52 ft. long & 24 ft. wide, & y^e^ wall 18 ft. high. Out of this length of Wall y^e^ Chapel is 34 ft. long and 24 ft. wide & with y^e^ arch 20 odd ft. high, no cellar under that part. My dwelling House is 16 by 24 ft., two Stores high. Below I've my own Room 16 by 18 ft., & a Passage 6 ft. with a Pair of Stairs in it, to y^e^ 2d Story, where I've two small Rooms 12 ft. by 12, Each Room has a good Fire Place; Under my Dwelling a Cellar in two Rooms, 16 by 12 ft. each. My chapel will hold between 2 or 300 people. It cou'd not contain y^e^ Hearers last Easter Sunday when I first kept Prayers in it, & every Sunday since it has been very full, when I attend at Home, which is only once every Month. We are all growing old, we are very weak handed, few come from England to help us. I suppose they are much wanted with you: I understand that few enter into orders of late Years, since y^e^ Destruction of y^e^ Society. Here I can assure you y^e^ Harvest is great, but y^e^ Labourers are too few. Where I am situated, I attend ten Counties by myself; to have it done as it ought, it would take ten able men. Pray fervently, that God may bless all our undertakings. The Book of y^e^ History of y^e^ Church &c. which you sent me some Years ago, has contributed much to our Numbers, it is forever a going from Family to Family of different Persuasions. Be so good, if you know any Books of equal Force, that have appeared of late years, to contribute your Mite towards our successes by sending them to me. New Books of that kind are not with us."[1]

[1] Rev. Joseph Mosley to Mrs. Dann, October 4, 1784. Rev. P. Smyth, in his "Present State," portrays the priests on the Eastern Shore as living in the midst of opulence and luxury. Dr. Carroll justly said: "If curiosity should be excited by his misrepresentation to travel to the Eastern shore of Maryland, it will find there but two clergymen. One of these lives on the confines of Maryland and State of Delaware (Bohemia), in a

The Very Rev. Prefect by his visitations, even though they did not include all the congregations placed under his control, had acquired a far more accurate knowledge of the condition, wants, and certain progress of the Church. Although some of his brethren, as we have seen at the last meeting of the Chapter, retained their old dread of a bishop, and a committee had actually prepared and apparently forwarded a protest against the appointment of one for the United States, Dr. Carroll had become convinced that it would be impossible for any one not invested with the episcopal character and jurisdiction to maintain unity and harmony, or to provide priests for the old congregations and the new bodies of Catholics arising at many points and developing rapidly by immigration.

The other step was the establishment of an Academy for the education of Catholic youth, which would enable them "to form subjects capable of becoming useful members of the ministry." At first the Very Rev. Dr. Carroll, taking the loud professions of liberality and religious equality, which were then generally made, to be real and sincere, had indulged the hope that institutions of learning would be so conducted that Catholics could resort to them without peril to their faith, and without being subjected there to constant contumely and insult in the text-books and the language of the teachers. He even took part in such institutions; but this hope was soon crushed. The professions of liberality were fallacious. Institutions endowed and supported by the

house not only inelegant, but ruinous and scarce affording shelter from the weather. The other (Rev. Joseph Mosley) occupies a cell such as the woman of Sunam prepared for the prophet Elisha (4 Book of Kings, c. 4), containing just space enough for a bed, a table, and a stool." Father Mosley's letter and drawings show that Dr. Carroll did not exaggerate.

State were exclusively and offensively Protestant in tone, in religious exercises, and in hostility to everything Catholic.

When the General Chapter met at Whitemarsh, November 13, 1786, the necessity of such an institution to train young men, and keep alive vocations to the ecclesiastical state, seems to have been brought earnestly before the body by the Very Rev. Prefect. The Chapter was attended by Revs. Ignatius Matthews and James Walton for the Southern District, Bernard Diderick and John Ashton for the Middle District. The Very Rev. John Carroll attended on the 15th at their request.

Rules of order were adopted; an appropriation was made to repair Newtown dwelling-house; the account with Rev. Mr. Frambach was adjusted, and his salary and that of his successor provided for;[1] the salary of the priest at Lancaster was fixed. The salary of Very Rev. Dr. Carroll, as long as he resided in Baltimore, was made £210 per annum; a settlement was made with the English province. They deprecated the assuming by any priest of any position as Executor, Trustee, or Guardian, and disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of any one so unwise as to undertake such a charge.

The disinterestedness of these priests is shown in the following: "Where clergymen live in places sufficiently provided for from our Estates in the judgment of the District Chapter, to which they belong, it shall not be lawful for them to demand a support from the faithful, but they are to serve them and administer the sacraments in all cases gratis."

The important step at this meeting was "Resolves concerning the Institution of a school."

It was provided—1. That a school be erected for the edu-

[1] This refutes one of Smyth's charges.

cation of youth and the perpetuity of the body of clergy in this country.

2. That the following plan be adopted for the carrying the same into execution.

PLAN OF THE SCHOOL.

1. In order to raise the money necessary for erecting the aforesaid school, a general subscription shall be opened immediately.

2. Proper persons shall be appointed in different parts of the Continent, West India Islands, and Europe to solicit subscriptions and collect the same.

3. Five Directors of the School and the business relative thereto shall be appointed by the General Chapter.

4. The moneys collected by subscription shall be lodged in the hands of the five aforesaid Directors.

5. Masters and tutors to be procured and paid by the Directors quarterly and subject to their directions.

6. The Students are to be received by the Managers on the following terms.

TERMS OF THE SCHOOL.

1. The Students shall be boarded at the Parents' expense.

2. The pension for tuition shall be £10 currency per annum, and is to be paid quarterly and always in advance.

3. With the pension the students shall be provided with masters, books, paper, pens, ink, and firewood in the school.

4. The Directors shall have power to make further regulations as circumstances may point out necessary.

OTHER RESOLVES CONCERNING THE SCHOOL.

1. The Gen^{l}. Chapter in order to forward the above Institution grants £100 sterling towards building the school,

which sum shall be raised out of the sale of a certain tract of land.

2. The residue of the monies arising out of the sale of the above said land shall be applied by the Gen^{l}. Chapter to the same purpose, if required to complete the intended plan.

3^{d}. That the Proc^{t}. gen^{l}. be authorized to raise the said sums to lay it out for the above purpose, as the Directors shall ordain.

4. The Gen. Chapter orders this school to be erected in George Town, in the State of Maryland.

5. A Clergyman shall be appointed by the Directors to superintend the masters & tuition of the students & shall be removeable by them.

6. The said Clergyman shall be allowed a decent living.

7. The Gen^{l}. Chapter has appointed the RR. Messrs. John Carroll, James Pellentz, Rob^{t} Molyneux, John Ashton, and Leon^{d} Neale, directors of the school.

This was the first step toward the foundation of George town College. It emanated undoubtedly from Very Rev. Dr. Carroll, and was adopted in a chapter where a bare quorum attended, though Rev. Mr. Pellentz, who could not attend, wrote warmly advocating the plan.

At this meeting it was also decided that in their opinion a diocesan Bishop, depending directly on the Holy See, was alone suited to the wants of the Church in the United States, and that the selection of the Bishop ought to be made by the clergy then on the mission.

The Prefect-Apostolic, and two members of the clergy, Messrs. Molyneux and Ashton, were authorized to prepare a memorial embodying these points. Steps were also taken to procure an incorporation by the State of Maryland of the body of the clergy to insure the property, which, under Eng-

lish rule, it had been necessary to hold in the names of individuals.[1]

The clergy in the southern district vehemently opposed the action taken by the Chapter. They protested against the appointment of a Bishop, and the erection of the school at Georgetown.

A calm and very comprehensive reply was made to them by Rev. Messrs. Digges, Ashton, Sewall, and Boarman, Dr. Carroll appending his signature. It showed conclusively that the only choice lay between the appointment of a Vicar-Apostolic by the Propaganda, a step already proposed and delayed by the influence of Dr. Carroll, and the erection of an Episcopal See with a diocesan bishop, to be selected by the clergy in America.[2] If they rejected the latter, the former must inevitably be decided upon, so that the country would, in all probability, remain under Vicars-Apostolic as England had.

The opposition to an undertaking which the Very Rev. Prefect regarded as pregnant with the greatest blessings was entirely unexpected. To the Rev. Leonard Neale, who had become adverse to it, the V. Rev. Dr. Carroll wrote: "When amongst you I conversed on the subject of a school with every one of you, excepting perhaps Mr. Roels; and it appeared to be the general and unanimous opinion, that it was an advantageous and necessary measure." "When I first saw your letter I own that I felt myself greatly disheartened: but consideration has in some measure revived my hopes. Almighty God suffers almost every design to be thwarted and oftentimes by the best men, from which eminent advantage is afterwards to be derived to His glory, that

[1] Proceedings of the General Chapter in the year 1786.

[2] "To the Reverend Gentlemen of the Southern District of Maryland."

we may be made more sensible of His divine interposition in its final success. My hopes are perhaps too sanguine: but God is my witness, that in recommending a school at first, and in still persisting in that recommendation, I think I am rendering to Religion the greatest service that will ever be in my power."

In this opposition the Rev. Bernard Diderick was the leader; but the Very Rev. Prefect held firm, and as the plan had been adopted in Chapter, he persevered, though in some other matters he suspended action till they had been more fully considered at a future meeting.[1]

Limited as were his powers and scanty his resources he felt that the establishment of a Catholic Academy could not be deferred. "In the beginning," he wrote to his friend, Rev. Charles Plowden, "the Academy will not receive boarders, but they must provide lodgings in town; but all notorious deviations from the rules of morality, out, as well as in school, must be subjected to exemplary correction, every care and precaution that can be devised will be employed to preserve attention to the duties of religion and good manners, in which other American schools are most notoriously deficient. One of our own gentlemen, and the best qualified we can get, will live at the Academy to have the general direction of the studies and superintendence over scholars and masters. Four other of our gentlemen will be nominated to visit the Academy at stated times, and whenever they can make it convenient, to see that the business is properly conducted. In the beginning we shall be obliged to employ secular masters, under the superintendent, of which many and tolerably good ones have already solicited appointments. The great influx from Europe of men of all professions and talents has

[1] Letter from Baltimore, February 7, 1787.

procured this opportunity of providing teachers. But this is not intended to be a permanent system. We trust in God that many youths will be called to the service of the Church. After finishing the academical studies, these will be sent to a seminary which will be established in one of our houses; and we have through God's mercy, a place and situation admirably calculated for the purpose of retirement, where these youths may be perfected in their first, and initiated into the higher studies, and at the same time formed to the virtues becoming their station. Before these young seminarists are admitted to orders, they will be sent to teach some years at the Academy, which will improve their knowledge and ripen their minds still more, before they irrevocably engage themselves to the Church." [1]

He wrote earnestly to his friends in Europe to obtain an experienced principal for the Academy, as well as for advice in regard to the course of studies and the proper text-books.

Meanwhile printed proposals were sent out to the Catholic body, and preparations made for erecting suitable buildings at Georgetown, where a site had been obtained.

PROPOSALS

for establishing an Academy at George Town, Patowmack River, Maryland.

The object of the proposed Institution is to unite the Means of communicating Science with an effectual Provision for guarding and improving the Morals of Youth. With this View the Seminary will be superintended by those, who, having had Experience in similar Institutions, know that an

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Rev. Charles Plowden, March, 1787. Woodstock Letters. Deed of Deakins and Threlkeld, Jan. 23, 1789.

undivided Attention may be given to the Cultivation of Virtue and literary Improvement; and that a System of Discipline may be introduced and preserved, incompatible with Indolence and Inattention in the Professor, or with incorrigible Habits of Immorality in the Student.

The Benefit of this Establishment should be as general as the Attainment of its Object is desirable. It will, therefore, receive Pupils as soon as they have learned the first Elements of Letters, and will conduct them through the several Branches of Classical Learning to that Stage of Education, from which they may proceed, with Advantage to the Study of the higher Sciences, in the University of this, or those of the neighbouring States. Thus it will be calculated for every Class of Citizens;—as Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, the earlier Branches of the Mathematics, and the Grammar of our native Tongue will be attended to, no less than the learned Languages.

Agreeably to the liberal Principle of our Constitution, the Seminary will be open to Students of EVERY RELIGIOUS PROFESSION. They, who in this Respect differ from the Superintendents of the Academy, will be at Liberty to frequent the Place of Worship and Instruction appointed by their Parents; but with Respect to their moral Conduct, all must be subject to general and uniform Discipline.

In the choice of Situation, Salubrity of Air, Convenience of Communication and Cheapness of Living, have been principally consulted, and George-Town offers these united Advantages.

The Price of Tuition will be moderate; in the Course of a few Years it will be reduced still lower, if the System formed for this Seminary, be effectually carried into execution.

Such a Plan of Education solicits, and, it is not Presumption to add, deserves public Encouragement.

The following Gentlemen, and others that may be appointed hereafter, will receive Subscriptions, and inform the Subscribers, to whom and in what Proportion, Payments are to be made:—In Maryland—The Hon. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Henry Rozer, Notley Young, Robert Darnall, George Diggs, Edmund Plowden, Esqrs., Mr. Joseph Millard, Capt. John Lancaster, Mr. Baker Brooke, Chandler Brent, Esqr., Mr. Bernard O'Neill, and Mr. Marsham Waring, Merchants, John Darnall and Ignatius Wheeler, Esqrs., on the Western Shore; and on the Eastern, Rev. Joseph Mosley, John Blake, Francis Hall, Charles Blake, William Matthews and John Tuitte, Esqrs.—In Pennsylvania—George Mead and Thomas Fitzsimmons, Esqrs., Mr. Joseph Cauffman, Mr. Mark Willcox and Mr. Thomas Lilly.—In Virginia—Col. Fitzgerald, and George Brent, Esqrs.—and at New York, Dominick Lynch, Esquire.

Subscriptions will also be received, and every necessary Information given, by the following Gentlemen, Directors of the Undertaking:—The Rev. Messrs. John Carroll, James Pellentz, Robert Molyneux, John Ashton, and Leonard Neale.

To all liberally inclined to promote the
Education of Youth.

Be it known by these Presents that I the undersigned, have appointed —— to receive any generous donation for the purpose set forth in a certain printed paper, entitled Proposals for establishing an Academy, at George-Town, Patowmack River, Maryland; for which —— will give receipts to the Benefactors, and remit the monies received by —— to me the aforesaid underwritten, one of the Directors of the Undertaking. Conscious also of the merited Confidence placed in the aforesaid —— I moreover authorize —— to appoint

any other person or persons to execute the same liberal Office, as he is authorized by me to execute.

—— this —— day of ——, 17—.

Signed and sealed,

J. CARROLL.[1]

Dr. Carroll solicited a course of study from Rome, but the Propaganda left that subject as well as the rules of domestic discipline to his judgment, subject to the consideration and approbation of the Holy See.[2]

Dr. Carroll thus persevered in his attempt to establish a Catholic College: in regard to the proposed bishopric, more personal to himself, he did not care to act in opposition to the general wish, though the difficulties in New York showed that the present condition could not be prolonged. The little body of the old missioners in Maryland looked forward to the speedy restoration of the Society to which they had belonged, and to its re-entrance into all its rights.

But events soon occurred which convinced them of the necessity of the action of the Chapter. Among the clergy who had recently come into the country, there were unmistakable signs of a jealousy of the clergy then in Maryland.

In 1787 there arrived on the American mission a priest whose moral character was blameless, but whose discontented and ungrateful spirit proved the source of great trials to Dr. Carroll. The Rev. Patrick Smyth, a native of Kells, educated in France, was parish priest at Dunboyne in 1787, when the apostasy of Dr. Butler so shocked the Catholics of Ireland. Rev. Mr. Smyth felt it so deeply that he resigned

[1] "The Georgetown College Journal," vi., p. 50, describes the Prospectus as in size 15 by 18 inches, and believes it to have been printed by the Greens at Annapolis.

[2] Cardinal Antonelli to Very Rev. John Carroll, August 8, 1787.

his parish and came to the United States as a missionary, having also some family matters here that required his attention. Rev. Dr. Carroll received him as one of his clergy, and at the beginning of winter stationed him at Frederick, Maryland, where he remained till April, 1788, succeeding the Rev. Mr. Frambach at that place. He attended a number of stations and fulfilled his duties so satisfactorily that Dr. Carroll attested his zeal and fidelity, especially in visiting remote stations. On the 15th of March he wrote to the Prefect-Apostolic that he had resolved to return to Ireland. While profuse in expressing his thanks to Dr. Carroll for frequent acts of courtesy and liberality, he announced that he would proceed to Baltimore and resign his faculties. This he did, remaining with the Very Rev. Dr. Carroll and Rev. Mr. Sewall for nearly a month before he sailed. After his departure a letter was handed to Dr. Carroll from him full of the most ungenerous insinuations.

This was but the prelude to a violent attack on Dr. Carroll and the older missionaries in America which he published in pamphlet form at Dublin in 1788. Its very title, "The Present State of the Catholic Mission conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America," shows that it was prompted mainly by hostility to the Society of Jesus, a feeling evinced also by a threat of publishing a new translation of Pascal's "Provincial Letters." The main charge was that the Rev. Dr. Carroll and the members of the suppressed Society kept all the lucrative missions in Maryland and Pennsylvania to themselves, and no position of influence would be given to any secular priest; he accused the Jesuits of neglecting to extend missions throughout the colonies, of building splendid mansions for themselves, and even of cruel treatment of the negroes.

The Dominican Father William O'Brien at New York,

as a friend of the Prefect, was violently denounced by his brother Irish priest.

Dr. Carroll felt sensibly the prejudice this virulent pamphlet would create among the clergy of Ireland, to which body he looked for priests to minister to their countrymen already emigrating in large numbers to America. He resolved to prepare a reply, and actually began one, the rough unfinished draft still existing: but letters from Archbishop Troy and other members of the hierarchy in Ireland, as well as from priests, who advised him to take no notice of it, induced him to lay aside his projected answer. Smyth's turbulent character was not unknown in Ireland; he was soon involved in a controversy with Dr. Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, and when after some years he submitted and obtained a parish, he almost immediately became embroiled with his curate.

In the sketch prepared by Very Rev. Dr. Carroll, he showed Smyth's perversions of history: the Jesuits undertook to maintain a mission in Maryland, and did so at their own cost: neither the Sovereign Pontiff nor the Vicar-Apostolic in England had ever assigned all the colonies to them as a field, nor had they ever undertaken to supply them all. The Vicars-Apostolic in England and Bishops in Ireland might at any time have undertaken missions in any part of the colonies, as Franciscans really did in Maryland for half a century. He denied the charge that the Jesuits had magnificent abodes on the Potomac and the Eastern Shore, in which Rev. Mr. Smyth evidently exaggerated accounts given by a traveller of his name. As to the charge that the Maryland missionaries treated their negroes cruelly, he wrote: "They deny that he ever saw one single instance in any clergyman of America, of the horrible crime which he imputes generally to them all. On the contrary they say that few amongst them are concerned in the management of estates or negroes;

that no such avocation diverts them from their pastoral duties; that the few to whom the management is committed, treat their negroes with great mildness and are attentive to guard them from the evils of hunger and nakedness; that they work less and are much better fed, lodged, and clothed than laboring men in almost any part of Europe; that the instances are rare indeed and almost unknown of corporal punishment being inflicted on any of them who are come to the age of manhood; and that 'a priest's negro' is almost proverbial for one, who is allowed to act without restraint." He cites in evidence of this the fact that when British cruisers plundered the plantations, while crowds of negroes from other plantations sought liberty under the English flag, only two negroes from the plantations of the Catholic clergy did so, one of whom soon returned, the rest fleeing to avoid the English and remain as they were.[1]

[1] Smyth, "The Present State of the Catholic Mission conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America," Dublin, P. Byrne, 1788. Rev. Dr. Carroll, Draft of a reply; Letter of Rev. P. Smyth to Very Rev. John Carroll, Fredericktown, March 15, 1788; same to Mr. Robert Walsh, May 6, 1788; Very Rev. J. Carroll to Archbishop of Dublin, August 11, 1788, in "Spicileg. Ossor.," iii., p. 504; Cogan, "The Ecclesiastical History of the Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," Dublin, 1874, i., pp. 195, 211; iii., pp. 129, 149. Addressing his friend Thorpe, May 8, 1789, Dr. Carroll mentioned that the Archbishops in Ireland had asked him not to notice Smyth's pamphlet, but he adds: "I have been told by my Brethren that I owe it to them, if not to my own character to answer it." The Rev. A. Cogan, in his History of the Diocese of Meath, says of this clergyman: "Patrick Smith was a man of splendid abilities, of ready and versatile talent, but was in disposition restless as a wave; pre-eminently factious and discontented. He officiated in the capacity of pastor in various parts of the diocese, emigrated to America, transferred his services to Dr. Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, and returned to Meath, choleric and disappointed, angry with himself and with the world, believing all his ecclesiastical superiors to be unmindful of his many perfections, and regarding himself as the most unhappy and ill-treated of men. It was his misfortune, as has happened to others too, that his bishop had taken too much

Writing to Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, Dr. Carroll said: "I lament with your Lordship that there are not more clergymen in the United States. They are large enough and offer a field wide enough for many more laborers. But unfortunately almost all who offer their services, have great expectations of livings, high salaries, &c., and these our country does not afford. Most of the stations to which salaries are annexed are occupied; and I find few, or to speak more properly, I find none willing to commit themselves entirely to the care of Providence, and seek to gather congregations, and livings of consequence, by fixing themselves in places where no missioners preceded them. Your Grace knows it was thus that religion was propagated in every age of the Church. If clergymen animated with this spirit will offer their services, I will receive them with the greatest cheerfulness, and direct their zeal where there is every prospect of success; and will make no manner of distinction between Seculars and Regulars. But one thing must be fully impressed on their minds, that no pecuniary prospects or worldly comforts must enter into the motives for their crossing the Atlantic to this country. They will find themselves much disappointed. Labour, hardships of every kind, and particularly great scarcity of wine (especially out of the towns,) must be borne with. Sobriety in drink is expected from clergymen to a great degree. That which in many parts of Europe would be esteemed no more than a cheerful

notice of him, had done too much for him, and had been too ready in making him a confidant. Hence, like many another spoiled ingrate, when thwarted and baffled in his schemes of ambition, even pro hac vice, he turned on his benefactor and with a gratitude worthy of a snake in the fable, he stung his best friend, and repaid a life of kindness with insult and calumny," iii., p. 150. This is the opinion of a fellow-countryman, a priest of the same diocese.

and allowable enjoyment of a friendly company, would be regarded here in our clergy as an unbecoming excess." [1]

Even in the heart of New England, Catholics were beginning to gather. The few in Boston in 1788 rejoiced at the arrival of a French priest from the diocese of Angers, the Rev. Claudius Florent Bouchaud de la Poterie, to whom Dr. Carroll gave faculties on the 24th of December. He announced his appointment in a pompous printed Pastoral Letter. The site of a French Huguenot church on School Street was obtained, the title of which, by previous deeds, could be conveyed only to natives of France. Here a brick church was commenced, and was dedicated on All Saints' Day, 1788, under the invocation of the Holy Cross. Rev. Mr. de la Poterie was a man of education and address; he obtained subscriptions for the new church, not only in New England, but also in Canada.[2]

The French members of the congregation at Boston, seeing the Catholic body there too small and poor to provide the church with the necessary vestments and plate for the altar, sent an appeal to the Archbishop of Paris, informing him of the struggle the Catholics were making to establish divine worship in the capital of New England. The Archbishop did not disregard the appeal; he sent a needed outfit to the church in Boston, but warned the Catholics against wandering priests, and informed them that faculties had been

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Most Rev. Dr. Troy, November 9, 1789; same to same, August 11, 1788; Cardinal Moran, "Spicilegium Ossoriense," iii., pp. 507, 508.

[2] De la Poterie, "A Pastoral Letter from the Apostolic Vice-Prefect, Curate of the Holy Cross at Boston" [Boston, 1789]; "Memoires de P. De Sales Laterrière, Quebec," 1878, p. 165; "Gazette de Quebec" Supplement, October 22, 1789. I am under obligations to Rev. J. Sasseville, Ste. Foye, and Mr. P. Gagnon, of Quebec, for these last references.

taken from De la Poterie in Paris on account of his culpable conduct.[1]

The Rev. Dr. Carroll had also learned that he had been imposed upon by an unworthy priest, whose life at Paris, Rome, and Naples was by no means creditable.[2] His conduct in Boston justified the information, and the Very Rev. Prefect deputed the Rev. William O'Brien, of New York, to investigate the charges and withdraw the faculties of the wretched priest. A violent little pamphlet, called "The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci," attacking the Very Rev. Prefect, the Dominican Father O'Brien, and representing De la Poterie as a victim to their wiles, appears to have been issued by him in revenge.[3]

De la Poterie subsequently visited Canada and endeavored to secure a position in that country. He failed, but inserted in the "Journal de Québec" a profuse expression of thanks for the courtesies extended to him.[4]

The successor of La Poterie at Boston was the Rev. Louis Rousselet, whose ministry was by no means an advantage to the little congregation of fifty or sixty Catholics then in Boston. Bishop Carroll was compelled to withdraw his faculties. Rousselet then went to Guadaloupe and was put to

[1] B. U. Campbell in "U. S. Catholic Magazine," viii., p. 102.

[2] Letter of Rev. Mr. Thorpe to Very Rev. J. Carroll, Rome, December 2, 1789; same to Rev. C. Plowden, October 23, 1789. Rev. W. O'Brien, April 19, May 20, 1789.

[3] "The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci; or, A True and Exact History of the Jesuits." Philadelphia, 1789.

[4] Very Rev. J. Carroll to Rev. Mr. Thorpe, May 8, 1789. La Poterie was in Boston in March, 1789, and a notice of the services on March 25th in his style is in Carey's "American Museum," v., p. 414. He left Boston finally January 19, 1790. Bishop Carroll, in a letter to Rev. Charles Plowden, written in England in 1790, refers to another tract of La Poterie's, published on his first coming to Boston.

death by the French Revolutionists. In August, 1789, the Rev. Arnaud Roux, Superior of the Convent of Charity in Guadeloupe, died in New London, after a stay of six weeks.[1]

In the Carolinas Catholicity scarcely existed except among the exiled Acadians, some of whom lingered apparently till the commencement of the Revolution. Few English-speaking Catholics ventured there, and two Irish Catholics, discovered in Charleston in 1775, were at once accused of conspiring with the negroes against the liberties of the country, were condemned to be tarred and feathered, then banished from the State. Prejudice was so strong that any Catholics in Carolina kept their faith so secret that they were not even known to each other.

The Revolution modified some of the prevailing bigotry, though the Protestant was made the established religion of the State. Catholics began to be regarded with less horror. About the year 1786 a vessel bound to South America put into the port of Charleston. The Catholics in the city, who now dared recognize each other, heard to their joy that there was a priest on board. They at once besought him to say mass for them, and he accordingly celebrated the holy sacrifice in the house of an Irish Catholic before a little congregation of about twelve persons.[2]

In 1788 Dr. Carroll sent to Charleston the Rev. Mr. Ryan, a very pious Irish priest, who found the Catholics few, poor, and timid. He succeeded in hiring a ruinous building, which had been used as a meeting-house by some Protestant body. Here the Catholic religion was first publicly exercised in

[1] Letter of Rev. Dr. T. J. Shahan.

[2] Rt. Rev. J. England, "A Brief Account of the Introduction of the Catholic Religion into the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia," Dublin, 1832, pp. 9, 15.

Carolina. He served earnestly for two years, till his health failed, God blessing his labors, and his life being one of great edification.[1] He had by that time gathered a flock of about two hundred. "Every day they became more numerous. Many whom past discouragements and oppression kept concealed began to show themselves. Our religion has not been exercised publicly there above two years. The Catholics there are mostly poor. They have no church; but divine service is performed in a ruinous house which they have hired."[2]

The little congregation wished to erect a church about 75 feet long by 50 in width at a cost of $15,000, and they appealed for aid to the King of Spain through the Spanish consul, Don José Ignacio Viar.

The Rev. Mr. Ryan was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Keating in 1790, but that clergyman, discouraged by difficulties and some disappointments, withdrew after March, 1791.[3]

The Catholics in Charleston had at first indulged the hope that the French or Spanish government might support a chaplain in that city for the benefit of their own subjects, but Dr. Carroll wrote: "It will be fortunate to have the exercise of our religion introduced even by these means; but

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll, Letter September, 1788. It is somewhat strange that the good priest, Rev. Mr. Ryan, has been ignored. Bishop England, p. 15, calls him O'Reily; and Ramsay, "The History of South Carolina." Charleston, 1809, ii., p. 87, alludes to one before Keating. Rev. Mr. Ryan arrived in Philadelphia August 1, 1788. Dr. Carroll offered him a position in one of the western counties of Pennsylvania, "where a large colony of Irish Catholics are soliciting a priest and offer him a maintenance." Rev. Mr. R. preferred Charleston.—Very Rev. J. Carroll to Most Rev. Dr. Troy, August 11, 1788. Cardinal Moran, "Spicil. Ossor.," iii., p. 505.

[2] Rt. Rev. J. Carroll to Dr. José Ignacio Viar, April 20, 1790. Smyth, "Present State," alludes to Mr. Ryan's appointment.

[3] Draft of a letter of Rt. Rev. Dr. Carroll. "Gazette," Phil., April 9, 1791.

I cannot help expressing a wish that your clergy may be entirely independent of and unconnected with any foreign prince." [1]

In North Carolina, a Mrs. Gaston, widow of a victim of British cruelty during the war, retained her faith and educated her son in the faith of her ancestors. About 1784 she was consoled by the arrival of the Rev. Patrick Cleary, canon of the church at Funchal, Madeira, who came to New Berne to obtain property to which he was entitled as heir of his brother. Mrs. Gaston fitted up a room in her house as a chapel, where Canon Cleary said mass for her family and a few Catholics in the place, among them John Devereux, who afterward settled at Raleigh.

Canon Cleary did not intend to remain in the country, but he was detained by the law's delays, and died at New Berne in 1790.

There were a few French Catholics about this time at Washington, North Carolina, but they soon died or withdrew, Walter Hanrahan remaining as the Catholic pioneer.[2]

While religion was thus spreading to districts from which it had been excluded in colonial days, difficulties were arising within the Church.

In the action of Rev. Mr. Smyth, as well as of the far less worthy priests, De la Poterie and Nugent, there were indications of coming divisions among the hitherto harmonious body of the Catholics in the United States. A spirit of antagonism to the old body of clergy as formerly members of the

[1] Rt. Rev. J. Carroll to the Gentlemen of Charleston. The application to the Spanish Court was resumed after his consecration. Rt. Rev. J. Carroll to Don Diego de Gardoqui, June 25, 1791.

[2] Memoirs of the American Church, "U. S. Catholic Miscellany," ii., pp. 146, 162; England, "A Brief Account of the Introduction of the Catholic Religion into the States of North Carolina," etc., Dublin, 1832, p. 23; "Works," iii., p. 253.

Society of Jesus, or trained by Religious of that order, was actively spread, and some of the newly-arrived priests denied that members of the suppressed order could validly officiate. At the same time national prejudices were appealed to, and it was claimed that those of each country ought to have churches and priests of their own, selected by themselves, and not join in worship with other Catholics.

The first overt manifestation of this feeling appeared in Philadelphia. Some of the German residents of that city had solicited the appointment of Rev. John Charles Helbron, a Capuchin, to the position which Dr. Carroll felt bound to give to Rev. Lawrence Graessel. The malcontents then excited a part of the German Catholics to withdraw from St. Mary's Church and to erect a new church exclusively for Germans; and as the congregation of St. Mary's Church had taken steps to obtain from the legislature of Pennsylvania an Act of Incorporation, the seceders began an active agitation to prevent its passage.

When they wrote to Rev. Dr. Carroll to obtain his sanction for the erection of a new church, he replied that while he would gladly encourage any attempt to increase the number of churches, he could not judge how prudent their project might be till he knew their ability to erect a church and maintain a pastor. He added: "I hope there is no danger of causing such a separation amongst Roman Catholics, as will prevent divine service from being performed with the same concourse and general approbation as at present."

In conclusion he urged them to be guided by the advice of the venerable Mr. Pellentz; and expressly required a disavowal of any attempt to set up pastors without the concurrence of the Ecclesiastical superior.[1] As he subsequently

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to German Catholics of Philadelphia, March 3, 1788.

wrote when rebuking the hostile spirit they evinced to the clergy and people of St. Mary's Church: "Thus were divisions stirred up, at the very time, that assurances were sent to me, of the most perfect dispositions to cultivate peace, and that in consequence of these assurances I had given my conditional assent to your proposal of building, more indeed for the preservation of charity, and in the hope of its being hereafter conducive to the interests of religion, than from any conviction of its being necessary at this time."[1]

Though, as Dr. Carroll reminded them, "a very considerable and respectable part of the German congregation does not unite with you in the new building and separation from the old congregation, consisting of all nations," they persisted. Although Dr. Carroll called their attention to the want of a church in the northern part of the city, land near the older churches was purchased of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania by Mr. Adam Premir, on the 21st of February, 1788, the plot having a front of sixty-eight feet ten inches on Sixth Street, and running back one hundred and ninety-eight feet on Spruce Street. Here the corner-stone was blessed without any notification to the Prefect-Apostolic, by Rev. Fathers Causse and Helbron.

Such was the origin of the first exclusively national church organized in this country. It took the name of the Church of the Holy Trinity, and was opened on the 20th of November, 1789.[2]

Both churches then obtained acts of incorporation—St. Mary's on the 13th of September, 1788, as "The Trustees of the Roman Catholic Society worshiping at the Church of St.

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to German Catholics of Philadelphia, Whitemarsh, March 31, 1788.

[2] Same to same, Baltimore, June 15, 1788; Westcott, "A History of Philadelphia," ch. 866; Hiltermann, "Historische Mittheilungen," i., ii.

Mary's in the City of Philadelphia," with Rev. Robert Molyneux, Rev. Francis Beeston, and Rev. Lawrence Graessel as pastors, and George Meade, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Byrnes, Paul Esling, John Cottringer, James Eck, Mark Wilcox, and John Carroll as lay trustees. And on the 4th of October were incorporated "The Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics, called the Church of the Holy Trinity in the City of Philadelphia," the trustees being "the pastor for the time being, George Ernest Lechler, Sr., James Oellers, Christopher Shorty, Henry Horne, Adam Premir, Anthony Hookey, Jacob Threin, and Charles Bauman." [1]

During the summer of 1787 another of the veteran priests of Maryland, whose name has frequently been given, ended his days.

Rev. Joseph Mosley was an excellent and devoted priest, entirely given up to his missionary duties, but extremely timid. In the oath of allegiance, which his brethren took, he found difficulties which caused him to shrink back. In the appointment of a bishop he at first saw untold dangers. On the 20th of July, 1786, he wrote to a relative in England: "I've been these 10 months several times at death's door with bilious fevers and frequent returns of the gravel. I seem to be at present upon the recovery, thro' God's blessing, for I know not what will become of my little flock, if I should be taken from them. It is a mission I began about 22 years ago, where no priest had ever settled, I found a few when I settled here, but thank God and his divine assistance we can now count between 500 and 600 communicants. The present incumbents are growing very old and infirm, and few come to supply our places. I've wrote several times to Mr. Strick-

[1] Westcott, ch. 365–6. Dr. Carroll discussed the whole question as to the movement leading to the building of this church in a letter to Rev. Mr. Beeston, March 22, 1788.

land at Liège, to take pity of us and send us fresh supplies. I am yet all alone and have but one other of my call on the Eastern shore of Maryland, and he lives 50 miles from me. We see one another perhaps once a year. You may pity my situation, I pity that of my poor flock, and not my own, I wish I was younger and healthier to serve them as I wou'd. My chapel or church is finished inside and out, as also my house. You've had the dimensions of both. It is full every Sunday that we keep Church or Prayers at Home." He begged for books, Challoner's Caveat against the Methodists, as that sect abounded in his district; Pastorini's History of the Church, and a life of "Benedict Joseph, a poor Man who lately died at Rome in a great odour of sanctity. His miracles in that city have been so well attested that it has much confuted the opinion of many, who maintain that miracles have ceased in the church."

His recovery was only temporary; he sank again and died piously at the church he had founded, June 3, 1787, at the age of 56.[1]

The veteran missionary, Rev. John Lewis, who had been the last Superior of the mission of the Society of Jesus in Maryland and Pennsylvania, did not long survive Rev. Mr. Mosley, at whose funeral he officiated. If the hope of seeing the Society of Jesus restored was beginning to grow less, he was gratified at least by seeing his brethren still united in the bonds of harmony, a body of zealous priests, soon to behold one of their number invested with the episcopal dignity.[2]

In Rev. John Lewis closed the line of Superiors of the

[1] Letters. Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 530. In an Ordo belonging to this laborious priest, Father John Lewis made this entry: "5 June, 1787. Buried Jenny Parks at St. Joseph's. Eodem die R. Jos. Mosley in y^e^ chapel. R. I. Pace. J. Lewis."

[2] Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 459.

original Maryland mission. He was a native of Northamptonshire, born September 19, 1721, and after passing through his literary course at St. Omer, entered the Society at Watten in 1740, on the eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the favorite day in the province for the admission of new members. He came to Maryland in 1758 and succeeded the venerable Father Hunter as Superior of the mission. It was his melancholy duty to receive from Bishop Challoner the document requiring him to exact from his community adhesion to the will of the Sovereign Pontiff, expressed in his brief. Rev. Mr. Lewis had been and continued to be Vicar-General of the Vicar-Apostolic of London, till the death of Bishop Challoner in January, 1781. Bishop Talbot apparently took no steps to renew the appointment, so that Rev. Mr. Lewis acted temporarily till Rev. Dr. Carroll was appointed Prefect-Apostolic, when he resigned all manner of authority to him. He died at Bohemia early in 1788.[1]

In October, 1787, the Very Rev. Prefect found that his presence was needed in New York. The Trustees had learned none too soon that their action in regard to Rev. Charles Whelan had deprived the congregation of a worthy priest and left it to the mercy of a wolf in sheep's clothing. They now besought the Very Rev. Prefect to deliver them from the very priest whom they had forced upon him. They presented such serious charges against the Rev. Father Andrew Nugent, that Dr. Carroll, informed from Dublin of his previous suspension there, withdrew the faculties which he had cautiously granted him only during his own pleasure. He appointed as pastor of St. Peter's congregation, New York, a worthy Dominican, the Rev. William O'Brien, who

[1] May 24, 1788, æt. 67; Foley, March 24, Woodstock Letters, xv., p. 99.

had already done parochial work in Philadelphia and New Jersey, and was highly commended by the Archbishop of Dublin, in whose diocese he had labored worthily for sixteen years. Nugent refused to withdraw. The Rev. Dr. Carroll accordingly proceeded to New York, and was about to begin mass on Sunday before the large congregation assembled in St. Peter's Church, when Rev. Mr. Nugent asserted his right to say the parochial mass, and declared that he would not yield it, unless Dr. Carroll promised to make no allusion to him in his address to the people. To this Dr. Carroll would not assent, stating that the people should be informed of whom they should beware, and to whom they should resort for spiritual aid. Nugent then began a violent tirade, which produced the greatest uproar and confusion.

But the Very Rev. Prefect was not to be overawed: he announced to the people that Rev. Mr. Nugent, to whom he had never granted but temporary faculties, was suspended from every exercise of the ministry, and he cautioned the congregation against attending any mass that the wretched priest might attempt to say.

Dr. Carroll then retired, followed by the greater part of the congregation, and said mass in the private chapel of Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish minister.[1] Father Nugent actually said mass in St. Peter's Church, and the few blind partisans who adhered to him declared that Rev. Dr. Carroll had no power to suspend their favorite. It was the first occasion in the history of the Church in this country where the laity, in their ignorance of the constitution of the Church, supported a priest in resisting lawful authority.

The Rev. Dr. Carroll, to disabuse these misguided men,

[1] Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, New York, July 25, 1788.

published an address on the subject, which was signed by the principal Catholics of New York. The Trustees put a new lock on the door of the church to prevent Nugent and his partisans from entering, it being arranged that the Rev. Dr. Carroll should, on the ensuing Sunday, instruct the people on the nature and source of spiritual authority. But the adherents of the fallen priest broke opon the door and filled the church with a rabble from the streets. When the Very Rev. Dr. Carroll attempted to address the people, such a tumult was raised that he could not proceed. The Trustees wished to clear the church of intruders, but the prudent Prefect-Apostolic counselled forbearance. He again proceeded to the Spanish embassy, followed by all Catholics who really attended to their religious duties.

As things were in such a condition that nothing could be effected by ecclesiastical power, Dr. Carroll left New York in November, after having remained there nearly two months, and the Trustees resolved to resort to legal proceedings. Fortunately the law, in treating of the administration of ecclesiastical property, provided that it was by no means intended to affect in any way the rights of conscience, or of private judgment, or to make any change whatsoever in the religious constitution or government of any church, congregation, or society, in so far as it related to their doctrine, discipline, and worship. Nugent was not only a violator of Catholic discipline, but an opponent of Catholic doctrine, as he denied that he owed allegiance to any one but Christ and the authorities of New York. In a sermon of his on charity, he declaimed against those who would punish others on account of religion, and cited some of the stale calumnies against the Catholic Church as facts. It was very desirable that this rebellion against ecclesiastical authority should be suppressed even by the civil law, lest Catholics should be en-

couraged by designing men to assume the right of appointing their own pastors.[1]

The action of the Trustees soon relieved the church of the unworthy priest, who was convicted, but after he was compelled to leave St. Peter's Church, he hired a house, and sacrilegiously said mass there for his adherents.

When the Very Rev. Prefect laid the whole matter before the Body of the Clergy, the old opposition to the appointment of a Bishop was abandoned. It was generally conceded that one should be solicited, if the erection of a see was agreeable to the Sovereign Pontiff. The Episcopalians had organized with bishops and were gaining strength, and violent as had once been the protests against such dignitaries, their actual presence gave no offense.

While it was admitted that the appointment of a Bishop was needed to control refractory priests, Rev. Dr. Carroll still felt that it was a delicate subject, and proposed that a plan of appointment should be adopted that would maintain intact union with the Apostolic See and all due obedience, and at the same time free the bishop from all suspicion of any foreign subjection not absolutely necessary.[2]

The following petition was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose, consisting of the Very Rev. John Carroll, Rev. Robert Molyneux, and Rev. John Ashton.

"MOST HOLY FATHER:

"We, the undersigned, petitioners approaching the Apostolic See, with all due veneration, and prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, humbly set forth the following: That we

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, March 18, 1788. Archives of the Propaganda.

[2] Very Rev. Dr. Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, March 18, 1788.

are priests who have been specially deputed by our fellow-priests, exercising with us the religious ministry in the United States of America, in order that we may, in the first place, return unbounded thanks to your Holiness for the truly paternal care, which you have deigned to extend to this remote part of the Lord's vineyard: and in the next place, to manifest that we all, had been stimulated by this great care, to continue and increase our labors to preserve and extend the faith of Christ our Lord, in these States, which are filled with the errors of all the sects. In doing so, we are convinced, that we not only render meet service to God, but also render a pleasing and acceptable homage to the common Father of the faithful. Moreover to correspond to this great solicitude, we believe it our duty to expose to your Holiness, whatever from our long experience in these States, seems necessary to be known, in order that your pastoral providence may be most usefully administered in our regard.

"Therefore inasmuch as his Eminence Cardinal Antonelli intimated to one of your petitioners, in a letter dated July 23, 1785, that it was the design of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide to appoint a Bishop, Vicar-Apostolic, for these States as soon as possible, whenever the said Sacred Congregation understood that this would be seasonable, and desired to be informed as to the suitable time for that appointment, by the priest to whom the said letter was addressed, we declare, not he only but we in the common name of all the priests laboring here, Most Holy Father, that in our opinion the time has now come when the Episcopal dignity and authority are very greatly desired. To omit other very grave reasons, we experience more and more in the constitution of this very free republic, that if there are even among the ministers of the sanctuary, any men of indocile mind, and chafing under ecclesiastical discipline, they allege as an

excuse for their license and disobedience, that they are bound to obey bishops exercising their own authority and not a mere priest exercising any vicarious jurisdiction. This was the boast of the men who recently at New York sought to throw off the yoke of authority, and alleged this pretext, which seemed most likely to catch the favor of Protestants, in that more than in any other State, contending forsooth that the authority of the ecclesiastical superior whom the Sacred Congregation has appointed for us, was forbidden by law, because it not only emanates from a foreign tribunal, but is also dependent on it for its duration and exercise. We refrain from setting out all this more at length to your Holiness, inasmuch as we have learned that certain original documents have been transmitted to Rome, from which it can be more clearly seen, with what powers the person should be invested, to whom the ecclesiastical government of these States is confided.

"With this view, we represent to the Supreme Pastor of the faithful on earth, that all the grounds on which the authority of the Superior as now constituted may be rendered odious, will have equal weight against a bishop to whom the powers of a vicar, and not of an ordinary, are granted.

"Therefore, Most Holy Father, we express in the name and by the wish of all, our opinion that the political and religious condition of these States requires that form of ecclesiastical government, by which provision may be most efficaciously made in the first place for the integrity of faith and morals, and consequently for perpetual union with the Apostolic See, and due respect and obedience towards the same, and in the next place, that if any bishop is assigned to us, his appointment and authority may be rendered as free as possible from suspicion and odium to those among whom we live. Two points, it seems to us, will contribute

greatly to this end; first, that the Most Holy Father, by his authority in the Church of Christ, erect a new episcopal see in these United States, immediately subject to the Holy See; in the next place, that the election of the bishop, at least for the first time, be permitted to the priests, who now duly exercise the religious ministry here and have the cure of souls. This being established, your most vigilant wisdom, Most Holy Father, after hearing the opinions of our priests of approved life and experience, and considering the character of our government, will adopt some course, by which future elections may be permanently conducted.

"These are, Most Holy Father, what we have deemed it proper to submit with the utmost devotion of our hearts to your Holiness' pastoral care, declaring, as though we were about to give an account of our sentiments to Jesus Christ, the divine bishop of souls, that we have nothing in view, except the increase of our holy Faith, growth of piety, vigor of ecclesiastical discipline, and the complete refutation of false opinions in regard to the Catholic religion, which have imbued the minds of Protestants.

"May Almighty God long preserve you, Most Holy Father, to Christian people, that you not only benignly foster this American church, as you have already done, but also guard it with all spiritual protection, and establish it thoroughly, and finally that you will vouchsafe to bestow on us prostrate at your feet your Apostolical and fatherly blessing.

"This is the prayer of

"Your Holiness's

"Most devoted and obedient

Servants and Sons,

"JOHN CARROLL,

"ROBERT MOLYNEUX,

"JOHN ASHTON."

The Very Rev. Dr. Carroll must have been led to believe that the Sovereign Pontiff proposed to invest him with the dignity of Vicar-Apostolic; but conscious that several of his brethren regarded the appointment of a bishop unnecessary, he had, with great prudence and magnanimity, kept the matter in abeyance till all felt that the Church must absolutely have a bishop to rule it. In the same spirit he now sought for his brethren the full opportunity of manifesting to the Holy See their wish as to the erection of a diocese, the place for a see, and the person to be appointed to occupy it.

No one was more cognizant than himself of the increasing difficulties and trials which would be the lot of the future bishop, and he had no ambition to assume a position in which, without resources of any kind, he would be called upon to supply priests, aid in erecting churches, establishing schools, and providing for the spiritual wants of a rapidly-increasing flock, scattered over a country thousands of miles in extent.

The Spanish minister resident in the United States had manifested an intelligent and friendly interest in the affairs of the Church here, and the impression made by the French intrigue was still fresh in men's minds. The petition of the American clergy was consequently forwarded through the Spanish envoy to the United States, Don Diego de Gardoqui, to whom Dr. Carroll wrote:

"Your Excellency will be pleased to recollect a conversation with which I was honored during my residence in New York. It related to the expediency, and indeed the necessity, of introducing episcopal government into the United States, as no other would carry sufficient weight to restrain the turbulent clergymen whom views of independence would probably conduct into this country. This opinion appeared to be strongly impressed on your Excellency,

and is the natural result of your thorough penetration into the nature and necessary effects of our republican governments. You noticed at the same time their great opposition to foreign jurisdiction, and the prejudices which would certainly arise against our religion if the appointment of the bishop were to rest in a distant congregation of Cardinals; and if he were to act only as their vicar removable at their pleasure; for which reasons you thought that the bishop should be chosen by the American clergy, approved by the Holy See for the preservation of unity in faith, and ordained to some title or see to be erected within these States, with the ordinary powers annexed to the episcopal character. You even were so obliging as to offer to support with your recommendation a petition addressed to his Holiness for this purpose, and to transmit it to the Court of Floridablanca, with a request to his Excellency to have it presented with the great additional interest of his recommendation. In consequence of this generous offer, your Excellency will receive from one of my Brethren, at Philadelphia, the Rev. Mr. Beeston, the original petition to be sent to his Holiness, and which, I doubt not, you will be so kind as to forward in the manner which you were pleased to mention. I am so much concerned to preserve the favorable regard, with which you have hitherto honored me, that I must request you not to impute the petition to views of ambition. Such a passion will be poorly gratified by such a bishoprick as ours will be: labor and solicitude it will yield in plenty, and I trust those heavy burdens will never fall on my shoulders." [1]

Señor Gardoqui transmitted the petition to the Count de Floridablanca, alluding to the necessity of a Bishop in the

[1] Very Rev. John Carroll to Don Diego de Gardoqui.—Archivo General Central "Sobre la ereccion de un Obispado," Legajo 8895. an. 1788.

United States to check such men as Nugent, and describing the Very Rev. Mr. Carroll as "a person of virtue, learning, and the highest connections and interests in this country, whom we generally regard as our bishop."[1]

The Prime Minister of Spain transmitted the petition to Don Nicolas de Azara, the minister at the Pontifical Court in September, and on presenting it to the Prefect of the Propaganda, the Spanish envoy ascertained that the Holy See was ready to create an episcopal see in the United States, and had waited only till certain difficulties were removed. The interest shown by the Court of his Catholic Majesty, no doubt facilitated the erection of the See of Baltimore.

The detention of the Very Rev. Prefect in New York owing to the troubles there, compelled him to leave some congregations unvisited and unsettled. These in the spring renewed their call for his presence, while New York, struggling to complete the church, was left for some time without its pastor, as the Rev. William O'Brien, fortified by letters from Dr. Carroll and Señor Gardoqui, and relying on the friendship of Archbishop Haro, of Mexico, who had been his fellow-student at Rome, had set out for Spanish America to collect funds for St. Peter's Church.[2]

The Holy See acted promptly on the petition of the clergy, which showed their acquiescence in the original plan formed at Rome. Permission was given to the priests actually on the mission in America to fix the place most suitable for an episcopal see, and for this case only to name the candidate for the new bishopric.

[1] Diego de Gardoqui to Conde de Floridablanca, July 25, 1788, with copy of petition; Nicolas de Azara to same, acknowledging letter of September 23, Rome, November 19, 1788.

[2] Very Rev. J. Carroll to Committee of Catholics at New York, April 13, 1788.

Writing to his friend, Rev. Charles Plowden, Dr. Carroll said: "Communicating freely with you as I do, you would not forgive me, were I to omit informing you, that a grant had been made to allow our officiating clergy to choose one of their body, as bishop; and it is left to our determination whether he shall be an ordinary taking title from some town of our appointment, or a titular bishop, by which I understand, a bishop constituted over a country without the designation of any particular See" (vide Thomassin, "De la Discipline de l'Eglise").

The letter of Cardinal Antonelli was as follows:

"Rome, July 12, 1788.

"Inasmuch as all the laborers in this vineyard of the Lord agree in this, that the appointment of one bishop seems absolutely necessary to retain priests in duty and to propagate more widely piety and religion—a bishop who can preside over the flock of Catholics scattered through these States of Confederate America, and rule and govern them with the authority of an ordinary, Our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius VI. with the advice of this holy Congregation, has most benignly decided that a favorable consent should be given to your vows and petitions. By you therefore, it is first to be examined in what city this episcopal see ought to be erected, and whether the title of the bishopric is to be taken from the place of the see, or whether a titular bishop only should be established. This having been done, his Holiness as a special favor and for this first time, permits the priests who at the present time duly exercise the ministry of the Catholic religion and have care of souls to elect as bishop a person eminent in piety, prudence, and zeal for the faith, from the said clergy, and present him to the Apostolic See to obtain confirmation. And the Sacred Congregation does not doubt

but that you will discharge this matter with becoming circumspection, and it hopes that this whole flock will derive not only great benefit but also great consolation from this episcopate. It will be then for you to decide both the proper designation of a See and the election of a bishop, that the matter may be further proceeded with.

"In the meanwhile, &c.

"L. CARDINAL ANTONELLI,

"STEPHEN BORGIA, "Prefect.

"Secretary."[1]

This was addressed to the Very Rev. John Carroll, Robert Molyneux, and John Ashton, and after its reception a meeting of the clergy was convened at Whitemarsh, in Maryland. This assemblage of the clergy was held according to Ecclesiastical rules; the convocation was made in a canonical manner. On the appointed day the priests assembled to the number of twenty-six. The holy sacrifice of the mass was offered, and the grace and assistance of the Holy Ghost were invoked. The suffrages of all those present were collected, and twenty-four votes were given for the Very Rev. John Carroll, only one vote beside his own being cast for any other. An authentic act of this assembly was then drawn up, signed, and forwarded to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide.[2]

When the result of the harmonious convocation of the clergy reached the Court of Rome, the choice gave complete satisfaction; for Dr. Carroll was evidently the one to whom the Sovereign Pontiff wished to commit the organ-

[1] Cardinal Antonelli to the Committee of the American Clergy.

[2] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique ou du Diocèse des Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale."

ization of the new diocese, his piety, prudence, zeal, learning, and the ability he had displayed as Prefect, rendering him in the estimation of Pope Pius VI., one providentially raised up for the task.

Writing in May, 1789, to his friend, the Rev. Charles Plowden, Dr. Carroll says: "Our brethren chose to have an ordinary bishop, and named Baltimore to be the bishop's title, this being the principal town of Maryland, and that State being the oldest and still the most numerous residence of our religion in America. So far all was right. We then proceeded to the election; the event of which was such as deprives me of all expectation of rest or pleasure henceforward, and fills me with terror with respect to eternity. I am so stunned with the issue of this business, that I truly hate the hearing or mention of it; and therefore will say only, that since my brethren, whom in this case I consider the interpreters of the Divine will, say I must obey, I will even do it, if by obeying, I shall sacrifice henceforth every moment of peace and satisfaction."

The Prefect-Apostolic knew by bitter experience that while the office brought no pomp or emolument, its cares and anxieties would increase day by day. But to decline the appointment would inevitably have led to the nomination in Europe of some one entirely unacquainted with the country, and the Catholic clergy and people in it, as well as with their actual position.

Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Dr. Carroll on the 14th of November, 1789: "We cannot sufficiently express in words how wonderfully we have been rejoiced that that distinguished assemblage of priests, assembled by order of the Congregation, have almost unanimously agreed upon you and selected you to occupy the new See of Baltimore. For, in the first place, we are raised to great hope that the Christian people,

strengthened by the consoling guardianship of a new Bishop, will increase and be more confirmed in faith and works of faith.

"We congratulate ourselves, too, that you were selected by that clergy as most worthy of this new increase of dignity. For such is our preconceived opinion of your virtues, that we can feel no doubt but that you will abundantly correspond alike to the honor and the burthen. Our most holy Lord Pope Pius VI. was also a partaker of this joy so justly entertained by us, for as he had already made you Vicar-Apostolic in those States, he now most cheerfully seized the opportunity of increasing your dignity, and therefore by the plenitude of the Apostolic power, declared you the new Bishop of Baltimore in Apostolic letters herewith transmitted.

"We congratulate you, therefore, on this new and ample dignity, and earnestly exhort you to undertake the care of the flock committed to you with alacrity, relying on the aid of Almighty God. It is illustrious and glorious to be able to offer as it were the first fruits to God of this vineyard of the Lord. Enjoy, then, this great good for your own salvation and that of others, and the increase of the Catholic faith, which we trust will day by day strike deeper roots in those remote States of the New World."

On the 14th of September the Cardinals constituting the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," after reading the letter of the American clergy selecting Baltimore as the See, and the Very Rev. John Carroll as their choice for its first Bishop, approved the nomination, and the formal report having been made to him on the 17th, his Holiness Pope Pius VI. ordered Bulls to be prepared erecting the new See, and appointing the Very Rev. John Carroll as the first Bishop.

The Bull issued under the seal of the Fisherman's ring, on the 6th of November, 1789, was in these words:[1]

"PIUS POPE VI.

"FOR THE PERPETUAL MEMORY OF THE FACT.

"When from the eminence of our apostolical station, we bend our attention to the different regions of the earth, in order to fulfil, to the utmost extent of our power, the duty which our Lord has imposed upon our unworthiness of ruling and feeding his flock; our care and solicitude are particularly engaged that the faithful of Christ, who, dispersed through various provinces, are united with us by Catholic communion, may be governed by their proper pastors, and diligently instructed by them in the discipline of evangelical life and doctrine. For it is our principle that they who, relying on the divine assistance, have regulated their lives and manners agreeably to the precepts of Christian wisdom, ought so to command their own passions as to promote by the pursuit of justice their own and their neighbor's spiritual advantage;

[1] Extractum ex Codice "Acta S. Congr. de Prop. Fide Anni 1789."

14 Sept 1789.—Relatis a me Litteris Sacerdotum animarum curam gerentium in Fœderatis Americæ Provinciis qui indicarunt Civitatem Baltimori aptissimam esse pro sede Episcopali, et DD. Joannem Carroll in ejusdem primum Episcopum designarunt EE. DD. utrumque probaverunt, facto verbo cum SSmo.

Die 17 Septbris ejusdem anni 1789.

Facta per me SSmo relatione, Sanctitas sua S. Congnis sententiam benigne probavit, mihique mandavit ut litteras Aplicas conficerem, transmittendasque in Segria Brevium pro Expeditione.

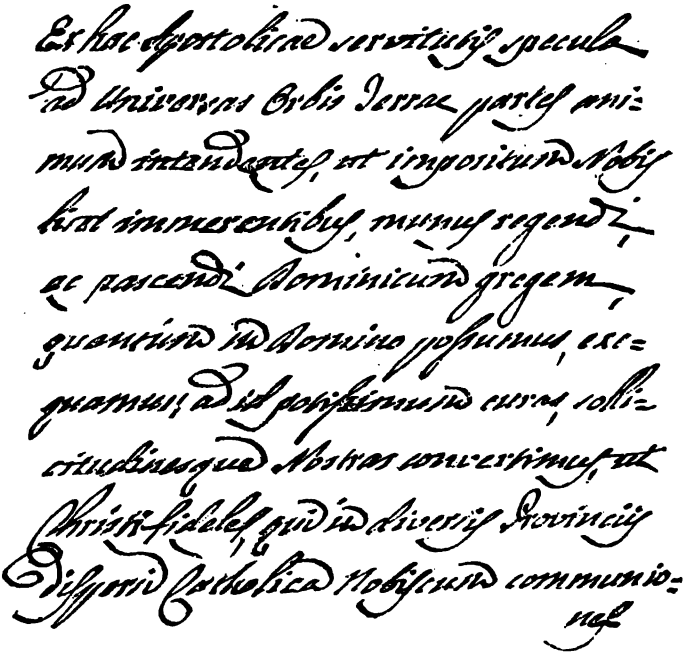
L. CARD. ANTONELLUS, Præf.

Ex Registro Decret. pag. 458.

EE. DD. censuerunt supplicandum esse SSmo pro erectione urbis Baltimori in sedem Episcopalem et pro confirmatione electionis Joannis Carroll in ejusdem urbis Episcopum cum ordinaria jurisdictione super clerum et populum omnesque Catholicos degentes in Provinciis Fœderatæ Americæ imperio subjectis.

PIVS PP. VI.

AD FVTVRAM REI MEMORIAM



FAC-SIMILE OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BULL ERECTING THE SEE OF BALTIMORE.

and that they who have received from their bishops, and by checking the intemperance of self-wisdom, have steadily adhered to the heavenly doctrine delivered by Christ to the Catholic Church, should not be carried away by every wind of doctrine, but, grounded on the authority of divine revelation, should reject the new and varying doctrines of men which endanger the tranquillity of government, and rest in the unchangeable faith of the Catholic Church. For in the present degeneracy of corrupt manners into which human nature, ever resisting the sweet yoke of Christ, is hurried, and in the pride of talents and knowledge which disdains to submit the opinions and dreams of men to the evangelical truth delivered by Jesus Christ, support must be given by that heavenly authority which is entrusted to the Catholic Church, as to a steady pillar and solid foundation which shall never fail; that from her voice and instructions mankind may learn the objects of their faith and the rules of their conduct, not only for the obtaining of eternal salvation, but also for the regulation of this life and the maintaining of concord in the society of this earthly city. Now, this charge of teaching and ruling first given to the apostles, and especially to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, on whom alone the Church is built, and to whom our Lord and Redeemer entrusted the feeding of his lambs and of his sheep, has been derived in due order of succession to Bishops, and especially to the Roman Pontiffs, successors of St. Peter and heirs of his power and dignity, that thereby it might be made evident that the gates of hell can never prevail against the Church, and that the divine founder of it will ever assist it to the consummation of ages; so that neither in the depravity of morals nor in the fluctuation of novel opinions, the episcopal succession shall ever fail or the bark of Peter be sunk. Wherefore, it having reached our ears that in the flourishing

commonwealth of the Thirteen American States many faithful Christians united in communion with the chair of Peter, in which the centre of Catholic unity is fixed, and governed in their spiritual concerns by their own priests having care of souls, earnestly desire that a Bishop may be appointed over them to exercise the functions of episcopal order; to feed them more largely with the food of salutary doctrine, and to guard more carefully that portion of the Catholic flock.

"We willingly embraced this opportunity which the grace of Almighty God has afforded us to provide those distant regions with the comfort and ministry of a Catholic Bishop. And that this be effected more successfully, and according to the rules of the sacred canons, We commissioned our venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, directors of the Congregation 'de propaganda fide,' to manage this business with the greatest care, and to make a report to us. It was therefore appointed by their decree, approved by us, and published the twelfth day of July of the last year, that the priests who lawfully exercise the sacred ministry and have care of souls in the United States of America, should be empowered to advise together and to determine, first, in what town the episcopal see ought to be erected, and next, who of the aforesaid priests appeared the most worthy and proper to be promoted to this important charge, whom We, for the first time only, and by special grace permitted the said priests to elect and to present to this apostolic See. In obedience to this decree the aforesaid priests exercising the care of souls in the United States of America, unanimously agreed that a bishop with ordinary jurisdiction, ought to be established in the town of Baltimore, because this town situate in Maryland, which province the greater part of the priests and of the faithful inhabit, appeared the most conveniently placed for intercourse with the other States, and

because from this province Catholic religion and faith had been propagated into the others. And at the time appointed for the election, they being assembled together, the sacrifice of holy Mass, being celebrated, and the grace and assistance of the Holy Ghost being implored, the votes of all present were taken, and of twenty-six priests who were assembled twenty-four gave their votes for our beloved son, John Carroll, whom they judged the most proper to support the burden of episcopacy, and sent an authentic instrument of the whole transaction to the aforesaid Congregation of Cardinals. Now all things being materially weighed and considered in this Congregation, it was easily agreed that the interests and increase of Catholic religion would be greatly promoted if an episcopal see were erected at Baltimore, and the said John Carroll were appointed the Bishop of it. We, therefore, to whom this opinion has been reported by our beloved son, Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the said Congregation, having nothing more at heart than to ensure success to whatever tends to the propagation of true religion, and to the honor and increase of the Catholic Church, by the plenitude of our apostolical power, and by the tenor of these presents, do establish and erect the aforesaid town of Baltimore into an episcopal see forever, for one Bishop to be chosen by us in all future vacancies; and We, therefore, by the apostolical authority aforesaid, do allow, grant and permit to the Bishop of the said city and to his successors in all future times, to exercise episcopal power and jurisdiction, and every other episcopal function which Bishops constituted in other places are empowered to hold and enjoy in their respective churches, cities and dioceses, by right, custom, or by other means, by general privileges, graces, indults and apostolical dispensations, together with all pre-eminences, honors, immunities, graces and favors, which other Cathedral Churches,

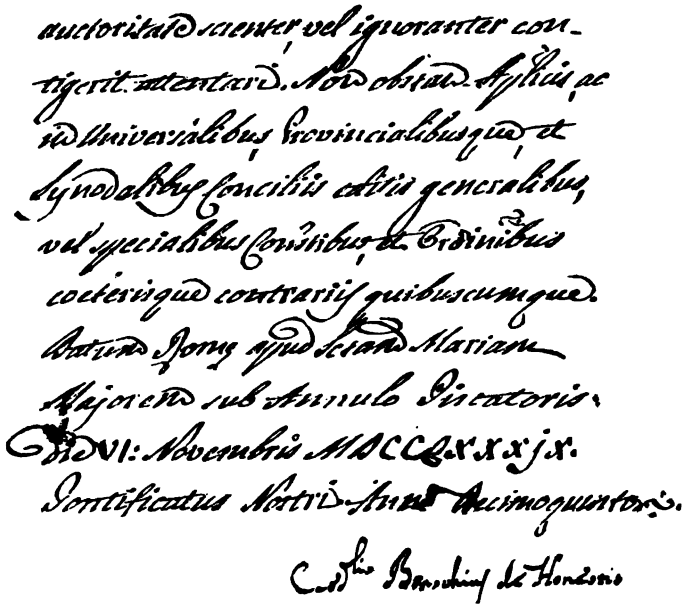
by right or custom, or in any other sort, have, hold and enjoy. We moreover decree and declare the said Episcopal see thus erected to be subject or suffragan to no Metropolitan right or jurisdiction, but to be forever subject, immediately to us and to our successors the Roman Pontiffs, and to this Apostolical See. And till another opportunity shall be presented to us of establishing other Catholic Bishops in the United States of America, and till other dispositions shall be made by this apostolical See, We declare, by our apostolical authority, all the faithful of Christ, living in Catholic communion, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, and all the clergy and people dwelling in the aforesaid United States of America, though hitherto they may have been subject to other Bishops of other dioceses, to be henceforward subject to the Bishop of Baltimore in all future times; And whereas by special grant, and for this first time only, we have allowed the priests exercising the care of souls in the United States of America, to elect a person to be appointed Bishop by us, and almost all their votes have been given to our beloved Son, John Carroll, Priest; We being otherwise certified of his faith, prudence, piety and zeal, forasmuch as by our mandate he hath during the late years directed the spiritual government of souls, do therefore by the plenitude of our authority, declare, create, appoint and constitute the said John Carroll, Bishop and Pastor of the said Church of Baltimore, granting to him the faculty of receiving the rite of consecration from any Catholic bishop holding communion with the apostolical see, assisted by two ecclesiastics, vested with some dignity, in case that two bishops cannot be had, first having taken the usual oath according to the Roman Pontifical.

"And we commission the said Bishop elect to erect a church in the said city of Baltimore, in form of a Cathedral Church, inasmuch as the times and circumstances may allow,

to institute a body of clergy deputed to divine worship, and to the service of said church, and moreover to establish an episcopal seminary, either in the same city or elsewhere, as he shall judge most expedient, to administer ecclesiastical incomes, and to execute all other things which he shall think in the Lord to be expedient for the increase of Catholic faith and the augmentation of the worship and splendor of the new erected church. We moreover enjoin the said Bishop to obey the injunctions of our venerable brethren, the Cardinals Directors of the Sacred Congregation 'de propaganda fide,' to transmit to them at proper times a relation of his visitation of his church, and to inform them of all things which he shall judge to be useful to the spiritual good and salvation of the flock trusted to his charge. We therefore decree that these our letters are and ever shall be firm, valid and efficacious, and shall obtain their full and entire effect; and be observed inviolable by all persons whom it now doth or hereafter may concern; and that all judges ordinary and delegated, even auditors of causes of the sacred apostolical palace, and Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, must thus judge and define, depriving all and each of them of all power and authority to judge or interpret in any other manner, and declaring all to be null and void, if any one, by any authority should presume, either knowingly or unknowingly, to attempt anything contrary thereunto. Notwithstanding all apostolical, general or special constitutions and ordinations, published in universal, provincial and synodical councils, and all things contrary whatsoever.

"Given at Rome at St. Mary Major, under the Fisherman's Ring, the 6th day of November, 1789, and in the fifteenth year of our Pontificate.

[L. S.] "R. CARD. BRASCHI ONESTI."



FAC-SIMILE OF THE CLOSE OF THE BULL ERECTING THE SEE OF BALTIMORE.

Having thus followed the development of organization in the Church to the crowning act, the establishment of an episcopal see,[1] it is necessary to consider the position of Catholics in this country under the reorganization of the general government of the United States.

The Articles of Confederation adopted during the war with England had not proved adequate to the permanent government, and a body of delegates was convened to adopt amendments.

The Convention which met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, to amend the Articles of Confederation then binding the States together, was not without its Catholic members. Thomas Fitzsimons, of Philadelphia, attended the opening session, and was soon joined by Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, brother of the Prefect-Apostolic. In the minds of the statesmen there assembled, the question of religious equality under the national administration was not overlooked. Charles Pinckney, in his "Draft of a Federal Government," which he laid before the Convention, had included this clause: "The legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion," but it was omitted in the form of the Constitution actually adopted, although no objection was raised.[2] The first step therefore towards the removal of religious disabilities and the establishment of equal rights, was made by this able son of South Carolina.

The question of religion did not arise till the sixth article came up, bearing on the oath to be taken by Federal and

[1] Bull in the Archives of the Archbishop of Baltimore. "A Short Account of the Establishment of the new See of Baltimore, in Maryland, and of consecrating the Right Rev. Dr. John Carroll," etc., London, 1790.

[2] Yates, "Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention," Albany, 1821, p. 217.

State officers. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, proposed that a clause should be introduced preventing any religious test. Some members regarded such a clause as unnecessary, but as under the English rule a declaration had long been enforced, which excluded all Catholics from office, and a similar oath even at this time debarred Catholics from office or naturalization in New York, it was well to prevent the principle from being introduced into the government of the United States. The clause proposed by Pinckney was adopted, North Carolina being the only State that voted against it, and Maryland casting no vote, the representatives of the Protestant ascendency in that State, being loth to relinquish the old system.

This sixth article provides: "but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States."

When the result of their deliberations was laid before the people, the action of the Convention which had attracted little attention was warmly discussed. There was a strong opposition to the proposed Constitution. The vote of Catholics where their numbers exerted influence, as in Maryland and Pennsylvania, was shown in favor of the Constitution. New York, strongly anti-Catholic in her own organic law, at last received it reluctantly, while Rhode Island and North Carolina, where Catholicity was practically unknown, rejected it absolutely. Other States accepted reluctantly, proposing in amendments what they deemed essential.

In some States the want of a religious test excited strong opposition. A delegate in the Massachusetts Legislature complained that "a Papist or an infidel was as eligible as a Christian"; another contended that they were opening the door to popery and the inquisition by dispensing with a religious test. But the Protestant ministers in the House sup-

ported the Constitution as it stood, and the Rev. Isaac Backus declared "the imposing of religious tests hath been the greatest engine of tyranny in the world."

North Carolina, following her action in the Convention, also censured the clause, but Iredell urged its necessity, declaring that "under the color of religious tests, the utmost cruelties have been exercised."

Virginia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island, among the amendments proposed, had one based on a provision introduced by Jefferson in the Virginia Constitution,[1] declaring the rights of conscience and the right to a free exercise of religion, and enacting that no religious sect or society ought to be favored or established by law in preference to others. New York did the same in a more succinct form. None of these States put the matter in a distinct restrictive clause. But New Hampshire, which was to retain on her statute-book laws excluding Catholics from office, seemed to fear that Congress might establish Catholicity, or make religious liberty universal. It accordingly proposed: "XI. Congress shall make no laws touching religion, or to infringe the rights of conscience."[2] But she finally adopted the Constitution, which thus, so far as the national government is concerned, relieved Catholics from the shameful and odious test which had so long disgraced England and her colonies. The United States under her wise Constitution stood before the world purged from the blasphemy. In the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States adopted, the fourth, as finally altered on motion of Mr. Ames, reads: "Congress

[1] "Ordinances passed at a general convention of Delegates and Representatives of Virginia, held the 6th of May, Anno Dom. 1776. Williamsburg": p. 5.

[2] Form of the Ratification, June 21, 1788; Carey, "American Museum," iv., p. 149; vi., p. 42.

shall make no law establishing religion, or to prevent the free exercise thereof; or to infringe the rights of conscience."

The result justified the forecast of Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, to whom the honor of introducing the subject in the Convention is due.[1]

The election of General George Washington as President under the Constitution, and the happy organization of the new government, were viewed by Catholics with joy.

To express the sentiments which pervaded the faithful throughout the United States, the Bishop-elect of Baltimore, in behalf of the Roman Catholic Clergy, with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Daniel Carroll of Maryland, Dominick Lynch of New York, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania, on behalf of the Roman Catholic laity, presented to General Washington the following Address:

"SIR,

"We have been long impatient to testify our joy, and unbounded confidence in your being called, by an Unanimous Vote, to the first Station of a country, in which that unanimity could not have been obtained without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner, because our scattered situation prevented our communication, and the collecting of those sentiments which warmed every breast. But the delay has furnished us with

[1] It has been stated that Catholics petitioned Congress to add the Amendment. Such a petition and the action on it would appear somewhere in the proceedings of Congress: but there is not the slightest trace in the official journals or documents of any such paper. The idea arose probably from some vague recollection of the address of the Catholics to Gen. Washington. Consult Schaff, "Church and State in the United States," New York, 1888; Elliott's Debates, ii., pp. 120, 148; iv., p. 242.

the opportunity, not merely of presaging the happiness to be expected under your Administration, but of bearing testimony to that which we experience already. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those who commit their protection into your hands. In war you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility; in peace, you establish public tranquillity, by the justice and moderation, not less than by the vigour, of your government. By example, as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow-citizens. You encourage respect for religion; and inculcate by words and actions, that principle, on which the welfare of nations so much depends, that a superintending providence governs the events of the world, and watches over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims, and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country, have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration, America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature. She improves her agriculture; extends her commerce; and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these happy events, in which none can feel a warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional pleasure, by recollecting that you, Sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account; because, whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice, the equal rights of citizenship, as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct—rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them,

where they have been granted—and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those States, which still restrict them[1]—when we solicit the protection of Heaven over our common country, we neither omit, nor can omit recommending your preservation to the singular care of Divine Providence; because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the United States as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your counsels, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues."[2]

To this Address President Washington made this reply:

"To the Roman Catholics in the United States of America.

"Gentlemen,—While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station in my Country; I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general Government; you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity, enhances the pleasure which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate Address.

"I feel that my conduct, in war and in peace, has met with more general approbation than could reasonably have been expected: and I find myself disposed to consider that fortu-

[1] Alluding to New Jersey, North and South Carolina, which required a belief in the Protestant religion for the enjoyment of religious liberty or a seat in the legislature or other office.

[2] "An Address from the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington, Esq., President of the United States," London, 1790, fol. 8 pp. Reprint, New York, 1865, with fac-simile and notes.

nate circumstance, in a great degree, resulting from the able support and extraordinary candour of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

"The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their Country, in the permanent duration of its Freedom and Independence. America, under the smiles of a Divine Providence—the protection of a good Government—and the cultivation of manners, morals and piety, cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence, in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home and respectability abroad.

"As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the Community are equally entitled to the protection of civil Government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of your Government: or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.

"I thank you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavour to justify the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your Society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free Government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

"(MARCH 12, 1790.)[1] GEO. WASHINGTON."

[1] From Washington's original reply, preserved in the Archives of the Archbishop of Baltimore.

A person, who strangely enough signed himself "Liberal," in a communication to the press, attacked the Catholic body. Dr. Carroll replied in June, 1789, in an article addressed to the editor of the "Gazette of the United States," in which the attack had appeared.

"Every friend to the rights of conscience, equal liberty, and diffusive happiness, must have felt pain on seeing the attempt made by one of your correspondents to revive an odious system of religious intolerance. Perhaps he is one of those who think it consistent with justice to exclude certain citizens from the honors and emoluments of society merely on account of their religious opinions, provided they be not restrained by racks and forfeitures, from the exercise of that worship which their consciences approve. If such be his views, in vain then have Americans associated into one great national union, under the express condition of not being shackled by religious tests, and under a firm persuasion that they were to retain, when associated, every natural right not expressly surrendered.

"Is it pretended that they who are the objects of an intended exclusion from certain offices of honor and advantage, have forfeited by any act of treason against the United States, the common rights of nature, or the stipulated rights of the political society of which they form a part? This the author has not presumed to assert. Their blood flowed as freely (in proportion to their numbers) to cement the fabric of independence, as that of any of their fellow-citizens. They concurred with perhaps greater unanimity than any other body of men, in recommending and promoting that government from whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, plenty, good order, and civil

and religious liberty. What character shall we then give to a system of politics, calculated for the express purpose of divesting of rights legally acquired those citizens who are not only unoffending, but whose conduct has been highly meritorious?"

He then took up the assertion that the ancestors of the American people left Europe to preserve the Protestant religion; and that Protestantism laid the foundation of this great and new empire, when, in fact, a great Protestant monarchy exerted all its power to crush, as a Catholic power did to save it.

"This writer attributes to his religion the merit of being most favorable to freedom; and affirms that not only morality, but liberty likewise, must expire if his clergy should ever be contemned or neglected; all which conveys a refined insinuation that liberty cannot consist with, or be cherished by, any other religious institution, which, therefore, he would give to understand it is not safe to countenance in a free government.

"I am anxious to guard against the impression intended by such insinuations; not merely for the sake of any one profession, but from an earnest regard to preserve inviolate forever in our new empire the great principle of religious freedom. The constitutions of some of the States continue still to entrench on the sacred rights of conscience, and men who have bled and opened their purses as freely, in the cause of liberty and independence, as any other citizens, are most unjustly excluded from the advantages which they contributed to establish. But if bigotry and narrow prejudices have hitherto prevented the cure of these evils, be it the duty of every lover of peace and justice to extend them no further."

Rev. Dr. Carroll could feel deeply grateful to God that he had permitted to see his country thus prosperously advancing under a wise and beneficent government, where religion could hope for the utmost freedom, and where at the same time the Vicar of Christ had established a complete episcopal jurisdiction under an American bishop, much as he felt appalled at the heavy burthen he was called to bear for the rest of his days.

When the news of Dr. Carroll's appointment reached England, Thomas Weld, Esq., of Lulworth Castle, a personal friend of the Bishop-elect, wrote to invite him to his seat during his stay in England, an elegant chapel recently constructed near the castle affording every convenience for the august ceremony of his consecration.

Writing to his friend, Rev. Charles Plowden, Dr. Carroll said: "I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the most obliging and honorable testimony of Mr. Weld's regard: you will be pleased to express with all that warmth which you can communicate to your expressions, my deep sense of his generous politeness. My inclination certainly leads me to accept of an offer not only so flattering, but which will afford me an opportunity of seeing some of those friends whom I shall ever honor and love. But I cannot yet determine what I shall do. I still flatter myself that Divine Providence will provide some worthier subject to be its instrument in founding a church in America."

Yet, writing to Archbishop Troy, he said: "When the subject of an American Bishopric was first started, I received so pressing an invitation from a most respectable Catholic gentleman in England, that I unwarily promised to be consecrated in his chapel, if the appointment should fall to my lot. Had it been otherwise I should have hesitated between Ireland, the land of my forefathers, and Canada, though, on

the whole, I flatter myself that my going to England may be attended with some advantages to the cause of religion within my extensive diocese."[1]

Before embarking for England he was rejoiced by the arrival of two Irish Dominicans of merit, Father Francis A. Fleming, who had been Rector of the Irish College at Lisbon, and highly commended by the Pope's Nuncio[2] in that city, Father Christopher V. Keating, from the same place, and Rev. Michael Burke. Father Fleming was immediately



SIGNATURE OF FATHER FRANCIS A. FLEMING, O.P.

placed at Philadelphia, to begin a ministry short in years but brilliant in zeal, ability, and self-devotedness. Rev. Mr. Burke replaced Father O'Brien at New York during his absence in Spanish America, and Dr. Keating's services found an ample field near Philadelphia. These Dominican Fathers all rendered essential service to religion.

About this time Cardinal Antonelli advised Bishop Carroll to receive no priest from Ireland who did not come recommended by Archbishop Troy, to whom he subsequently

[1] Rt. Rev. J. Carroll to Archbishop Troy, July 23, 1790, in "Spicileg. Ossor.," iii., pp. 507–8.

[2] Nuncio at Lisbon to Dr. Carroll, Lisbon, Sept. 4, 1789. A change had come with the recent immigration from Ireland. Hitherto sermons had been read in the English style, and Rev. Mr. Molyneux, writing to Dr. Carroll, mentions that a different style was required, and one for which he felt himself unfitted. Fathers Fleming and Keating seem to have impressed the Catholics and others as pulpit orators. Matthew Carey published in his "American Museum" (vii., p. 177) an extract of a sermon delivered by Rev. F. A. Fleming, March 17, 1790; and (viii., p. 112) an extract from a sermon of Rev. Thos. Keating, Sunday, August 20, 1790, both in St. Mary's church.



RT. REV. CHARLES WALMESLEY, D.D., V.A., BISHOP OF RAMA.

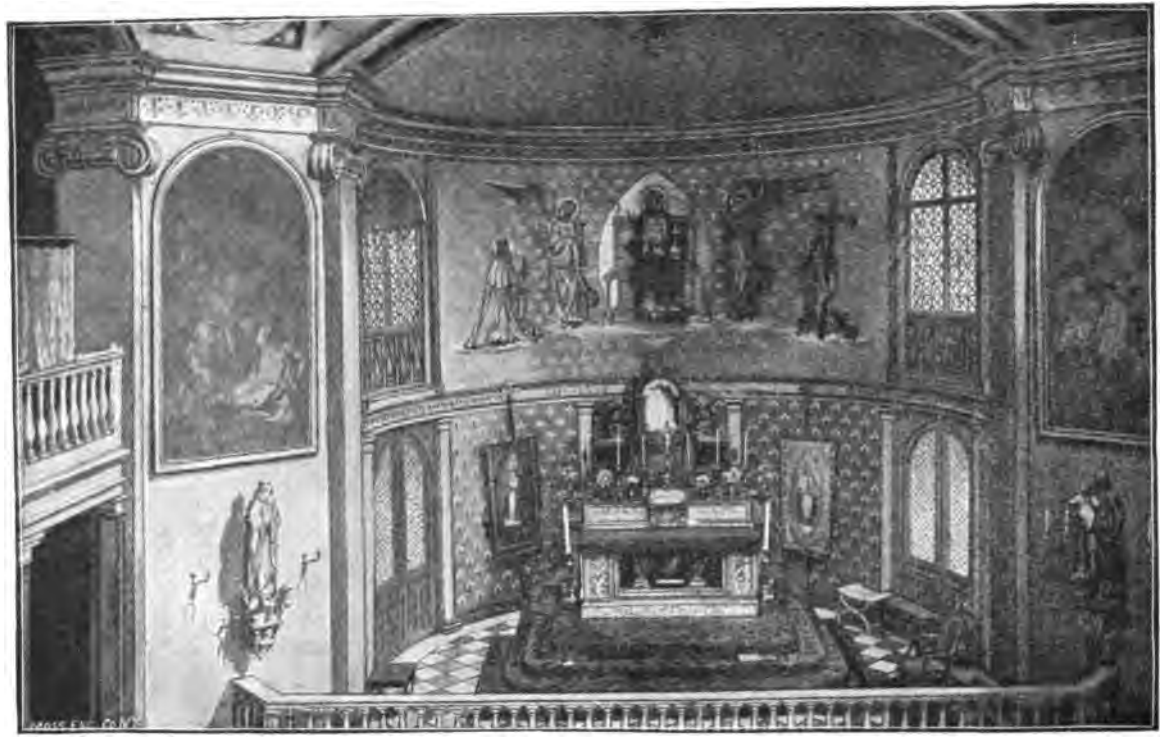
referred all clergymen from that country who sought employment in the diocese of Baltimore.[1]

Visiting Philadelphia in the winter of 1789, Dr. Carroll says: "In this town we have now two very handsome and large churches, besides the old original chapel, which was the cradle of Catholicity here. This serves for a domestic chapel, being contiguous to the Presbytery house; and there is more consolation in it than in the more splendid services of the other churches, for here it is that every day, and especially on Sundays, the sacraments are frequented, etc. In the Presbytery house lately built live Messrs. Beeston and Graessel (a most amiable ex-Jesuit), and Mr. Fleming, an Irish Dominican, lately from Dublin, a gentleman of amiable manners and temper and a very excellent scholar. Near to the new church lives the above-mentioned Capuchin" (Helbron).[2]

Though equally the choice of Rome and of his fellow-priests, Dr. Carroll felt that his acceptance would entail care, difficulty, and trial. His private correspondence shows that he dreaded to go on; but there seemed to be no one else to take his place at the helm of the little bark of the Church in this country. He decided to accept the Bulls, and responding to the invitation of Mr. Weld he sailed to England early in the summer of 1790, and presented his bulls to the venerable Benedictine, the Right Rev. Charles Walmesley, Bishop of Rama and senior Vicar-Apostolic of England, so eminent for his vast mathematical and scientific knowledge that government had called upon his aid when the Gregorian Calendar was established in Great Britain, and whose Exposition of the Apocalypse, issued under the name of Signor Pastorini, had attained great popularity. Bishop Walmesley con-

[1] Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy, Oct. 8, 1790.

[2] Letter from Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1789.



INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL AT LULWORTH CASTLE, WHERE BISHOP CARROLL WAS CONSECRATED.

sented to act as consecrator, and the solemn ceremony took place during a pontifical high mass in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, on the feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1790, Our Lady being chosen by the founder of the American Hierarchy as the patroness of his diocese. The princely English gentleman, as a publication of the day remarked, "omitted no circumstance which could possibly add dignity to so venerable a ceremony. The two prelates were attended by their respective assistant priests, the Rev. Charles Plowden and the Rev. James Porter, and acolytes, according to the rubric of the Roman Pontifical. The richness of their vestments, the music of the choir, the multitude of the wax lights, and the ornaments of the altar concurred to increase the splendor of the solemnity."[1]

[1] The following description of the Catholic Chapel at Lulworth is from Hutchins' "History of Dorset":

"In the year 1786, the first stone of the present Chapel, which stands at a small distance to the South-West of the castle, was laid by the present possessor; under which were placed coins of the present reign, and a plate of brass with the following inscription:

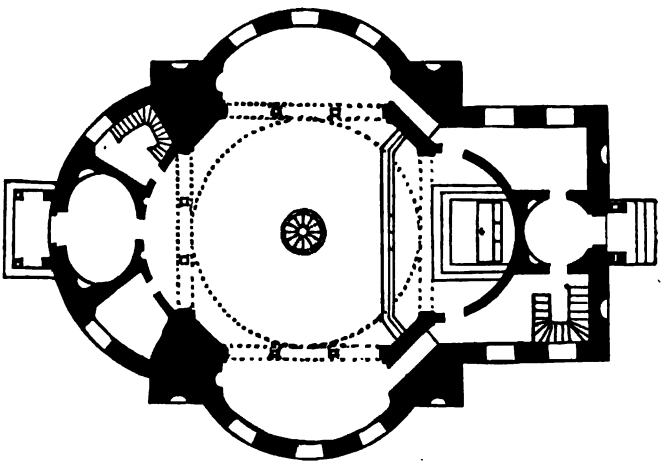
"'Lapis sacer auspicalis in fundamenta futuri templi jactus anno MDCCLXXXVI, IV°. nonas Februarii: quod templum Thomas Weld publice meo in solo primus omnium, mitescente per Georgium Tertium legum pœnalium acerbitate, in honorem Virginis Beatissimæ Dei Genitricis adgredior extruendum.

"'Tu vero, Deus optime maxime, opus tantis auspiciis inchoatum custodi, protege, fove, ac confirma, ut, quaqua Britanniæ patent religioni sanctæ templa, adcrescant templis cultores.'

"The Chapel is of a circular form, increased by four sections of a circle so as to form a cross, and covered with a dome and lantern.—It contains a well-toned organ, a copy of Raphael's Transfiguration, and two other scriptural pieces lately brought from Italy.—The angels, foliage, mouldings, and whatever appears to be ornament about the altar, are bronze; which is also all gilt, except the angels.—The vase [under the altar] is one piece of transparent alabaster, of the colour of amber. The platform on which the urn and angels are placed is of porphyry; the base underneath is of a brilliant brescia corallina; the back part and two sides of the space wherein the urn and angels stand are of a brescia anti-

The Rev. Charles Plowden, bound to Bishop Carroll by years of holy friendship, preached the sermon of the day, in which he dwelt on the fact that the dismemberment of the British empire, in calling into existence a new empire in the western world, though it might seem but the result of human passions, showed the working of divine Providence in the fact that "the earliest and most precious fruit of it, had been the extension of the kingdom of Christ, the propagation of

qua of a grave colour, and so variegated as to throw a kind of splendour about the urn.—The front and outside pannels of the two supporters of the altar-table are of a rare and beautiful oriental rose alabaster, within mouldings of giallo di Siena. The pannels of the altar-steps are of plasma di smeraldo, set in giallo antico. The small step that projects



GROUND PLAN OF CHAPEL AT LULWORTH CASTLE.

immediately on the altar-table is of choice pecorella minuta alabaster.—The door of the tabernacle and its frame are composed of a choice collection of stones, lapis lazuli, amethyst, verde di Corsica, bianco e nero antico, verde d'Egitto.—The pedestal of the crucifix is composed of plasma di smeraldo and verde antico. The entire sides of the cross are incrusted with lapis lazuli. The Christ is ivory, and the Magdalen gilt bronze; both entire figures."

the Catholic religion, which, heretofore fettered by restraining laws, is now enlarged from bondage, and is left at liberty to exert the full energy of divine truth." [1]

The first Bishop of Baltimore was thus duly consecrated. The event was an omen of hope to the Catholics of Great Britain, and their clergy; a consolation to the priests who had been members of the Society of Jesus, and, as Father Plowden said, "honorable and comforting to Mr. Weld, the founder of the chapel, which shall be revered through succeeding ages, even by churches yet unnamed, as the privileged, the happy spot from whence their episcopacy and hierarchy took their immediate rise, and this precious distinction will be justly attributed to the protection and favor of the glorious Mother of God, whose house it is, and through whose patronage all Christian churches are founded."

Bishop Carroll always preserved a great and pious veneration for the day and the place of his consecration. He made the day the patronal feast of his diocese, and in time obtained special indulgences for it from the Sovereign Pontiff. Years after he spoke in a most touching manner of the graces he had received there, and of his gratitude to God and our Lady. "To show his gratitude to Mr. Weld," writes the Abbé Dilhet, "he had the Castle and Chapel of Lulworth engraved at his own expense, and on my arrival in America he showed me an impression with an air of devotion, recalling to mind his consecration and his duties, and with marks of esteem and attachment to that Catholic family." [2]

[1] At the consecration of Bishop Carroll, the book of the gospels was held over his shoulders by the son of his host, Thomas Weld, a future Cardinal. (Thomas Weld to Bishop Carroll, February 25, 1811.)

[2] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique ou du Diocese des Etats Unis." The certificate of the consecration preserved in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, is as follows:



REAR ENTRANCE TO CHAPEL AT LULWORTH CASTLE.

The United States now had, at last, a Catholic Bishop, but he stood alone in a foreign land, without resources for his great work; viewed politically by many as one of a nation of successful rebels; ecclesiastically as member of an order struck down by the Head of the Church and scattered to the winds. In the city selected as his episcopal see, he had no church beyond a plain brick structure completed in 1783; his small band of priests was constantly thinned by the hand of death, and there was no source to which he could look for others to replace the dead. Though urged by the Holy See to establish a Seminary he had no income, and no one but Providence to whom he could look for his own support and the immense task which had been imposed upon him. Before he left England, his trust and confidence in God were rewarded by two instances of this overruling guidance.

Bishop Carroll received the warmest invitations from his friends in England, especially Lord Arundell of Wardour, Mr. Thomas Weld, and others, to prolong his stay, but he

"Hisce testatum facimus Reverendum Dnm Joannem Carroll, presbyterum ad episcopatum Baltimorensem electum, lectis litteris Apostolicis apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem datis, sub annulo Piscatoris die sexta Novembris 1789, et præstito prius ab ipso Electo juxta Pontificale Romanum juramento, assistensibus Revdo Carolo Plowden ac revdo Jacobo Porter, presbyteris, 15ª Augusti 1790, sacra Beatissimæ Virginis Assumptæ die in templo Castelli de Lullworth comitatus Dorcestrensis in Angliâ a nobis in Episcopum fuisse consecratum.

"Dabamus ad Castellum de Lullworth die 17 Augusti anno 1790.

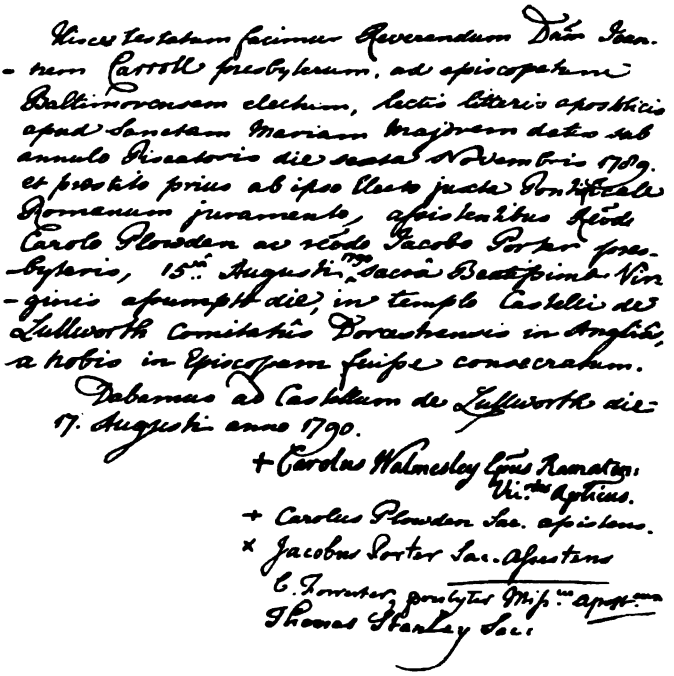
"✠ Carolus Walmesley, Epus Ramaten.
Vicrius Aplicus.

"✠ Carolus Plowden, sac. assistens.

"✠ Jacobus Porter, sac. assistens.

"C. Forrester, presbyter Missus Apostcus.

"Thomas Stanley, sac."



Hinc testatum facimus Reverendum Dñm Joannem Carroll presbyterum, ad episcopatum Baltimorensem electum, lectis litteris apostolicis apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem dato sub annulo Piscatoris die sexta Novembris 1789. et praestito prius ab ipso electo juxta Pontificale Romanum juramento, episcopalibus Rite Carolo Plowden ac Rite Jacobo Porter presbyteris, 15to Augusti Mo Sacro Beatæ Mariæ Virginis assumptæ die, in templo Castellii de Lutterworth Comitatûs Dorsetensis in Anglia, a nobis in Episcopum fuisse consecratum.

Dabamus ad Castellum de Lutterworth die 17. Augusti anno 1790.

+ Carolus Walmesley Epus Rosnatens. Vic.tus Apost.us.

+ Carolus Plowden Sac. episcopus.

× Jacobus Porter Sac. Apostus

C. Forster, presbyter Mis.ne apost.ca

Thomas Stanley Sac.

CERTIFICATE OF THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP CARROLL.

[From the original preserved in St. Mary's Theological Seminary, Baltimore.]

felt that his presence was needed in the United States, where so much was to be done.[1]

Mr. Weld wrote: "I shall always esteem myself happy in every opportunity of giving you the smallest proof of my sincere respect and veneration. I was particularly so on the late occasion of your consecration. I shall look upon that day as one of the most memorable ones of my life, and as a glorious one to me and mine in many respects. I own I feel



SEAL OF BISHOP CARROLL

a singular comfort and satisfaction in events of that nature, and anything that tends to the good of true Religion; but there were many concurring circumstances at your consecration, that filled my heart with feelings which words cannot express. Indeed, I cannot recall them to my mind without great sensible consolations."

His pious letter enclosed a draft for the Seminary which Bishop Carroll was about to establish. Donations for the

[1] Lord Arundell to Bishop Carroll, Sept. 28, 1790; Lord Petre to same, August 31, 1790; Thomas Weld to same, Lulworth Castle, Sept. 19, 1790.

same object came too from other sources, encouraging him greatly.[1]

When in England Bishop Carroll adopted a seal for his diocese, indicating the Blessed Virgin, selected as patroness of his future Cathedral, and St. Peter, to whom the church, which was to be his pro-Cathedral, was dedicated. He also published "A Short Account of the Establishment of the New See of Baltimore in Maryland," and of his consecration, with the discourse on the occasion, a translation of the Pope's Bull, and extracts from the Bills of Rights of different States.[2]

Before leaving England he wrote to the Sovereign Pontiff this letter, full of lessons for all time:

"MOST HOLY FATHER:

"When two months ago I informed the Most Eminent Cardinal Antonelli of my arrival in Europe to receive Episcopal consecration, I asked him kindly to place me at your Holiness's feet, and in my name to profess especially that, although I undertook this burden of the Episcopacy with great fear, yet it afforded me no little consolation that I was not deemed by you, Most Holy Father, utterly unworthy of so great an office; in the next place, that he would lay before you my faith that I would never, at any time, fail in obedience and docility to the Holy See, without which, as I had learned from Ecclesiastical History and the doctrine of the Fathers, faith and morals waver. Let me add, moreover, that I shall spare no endeavor that all committed to my care,

[1] Bishop Carroll to Rev. Charles Plowden, Sept. 2, 1790; same to Peter Jenkins Holt, Oct. 2, 1790.

[2] London, J. W. Coghlan, 1790; Reprinted by the Historical Club Baltimore, 1876.

whether people or pastors, may be actuated by the same feelings that animate me towards the Holy See.

"To obtain this grace more surely, prostrate humbly at the feet of your Holiness, I ask you to vouchsafe to confer on us the Apostolical benediction.

"Most Holy Father,

"Your most obedient servant and son,

"✠ JOHN, Bishop of Baltimore.

"LONDON, September 27, 1790."[1]

While still in England, Bishop Carroll received a letter from Cardinal Antonelli, commending him for his humility in not wishing to wear the mitre, and encouraging him to labor with confidence. He announced a gratuity for three years to Georgetown College from the Propaganda, and, alluding to the calumnies of La Poterie and Smyth, urged Dr. Carroll to remove all suspicion of a disposition on his part to employ in the ministry priests who had belonged to the Society of Jesus, in preference to others.

The Bishop of Baltimore, on the eve of his departure from London, wrote that though he had abundant material, including Smyth's own letters, to refute the false statements of that person's pamphlet, he had refrained from issuing any answer at the request of the Archbishop of Dublin. In regard to the general management of the Church, he explained that when he was appointed, missions which had from their origin been served by Fathers of the Society, were occupied by priests who had belonged to that order, and who were esteemed by their congregations: that he could not justly remove them merely to accommodate clergymen who had but recently arrived in the country.

[1] "Scritte riferite, America Centrale," 1776–1790, vol. ii.

He stated that since his appointment as Prefect he had received or recognized thirty priests, who were then or had subsequently entered the United States, and of these only seven had ever been in any way connected with the Society of Jesus; and of the seven, four were natives of Maryland, who had returned to labor in their own State. He alluded to the negotiation with the Priests of St. Sulpice, as showing his readiness to avail himself of the services of really worthy and zealous priests.[1]

[1] Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Carroll, August 14, 1790; Bishop Carroll's reply, Sept. 27, 1790.



CRUCIFIX BROUGHT FROM ROME BY REV. JOHN CARROLL.

BOOK II.

RT. REV. JOHN CARROLL, D.D., BISHOP OF BALTIMORE 1790–1808.—ADMINISTRATOR OF LOUISIANA 1805–1812.—ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE 1808–1815.

CHAPTER I.

RT. REV. JOHN CARROLL, D.D., BISHOP OF BALTIMORE.—ADMINISTRATION 1790–1800.—APPOINTMENT OF A COADJUTOR.—RT. REV. L. GRAESSEL.

Bishop Carroll felt that the condition of the Church in the United States forbade any unnecessary delay in England; and, declining the kind and urgent invitations of old and valued friends like Lord Arundell of Wardour and Lord Petre, even one to revisit Lulworth Castle, the very thought of which filled his heart with holy and generous emotions, he embarked at Gravesend, on the 8th of October, in the same vessel on which he had come to England. After a stormy and disagreeable passage he reached Baltimore on the 7th of December.[1]

When the arrival of the ship was announced, a large body of Catholics proceeded to the landing, and as soon as the Bishop disembarked they escorted him to his house. The next Sun-

[1] Both while going and while returning Bishop Carroll had as fellow passenger Dr. Madison, who went to England to be consecrated by Bishops of the Church of England as the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Virginia.



The Right Rev.d John

BISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

Publish'd as the Act directs. Nov.r 6.th 1790, by J. P. Ogilvie, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London.

day St. Peter's church was thronged. Five priests, with the trustees of the church, received the Bishop of Baltimore at the door, and escorted him to the Sanctuary, where he remained at the foot of the altar while the TE DEUM was sung. Then he was conducted to the pontifical throne, where he received the obeisance of the clergy and of some of the laity, who approached and kissed his ring. He then celebrated a pontifical mass, in which he gave his solemn benediction and proclaimed indulgences in the form prescribed.

In the address which he delivered on this occasion, after he showed how great and irrevocable the duties which had been imposed on him and the awful responsibility, he said:

"In this, my new station, if my life be not one continued instruction and example of virtue to the people committed to my charge, it will become, in the sight of God, a life not only useless, but even pernicious.

"It is no longer enough for me to be inoffensive in my conduct and regular in my manners. God now imposes a severer duty upon me. I shall incur the guilt of violating my pastoral office, if all my endeavors be not directed to bring your lives and all your actions to a conformity with the laws of God; to exhort, to conjure, to reprove, to enter into all your sentiments; to feel all your infirmities; to be all things to all, that I may gain all to Christ; to be superior to human respect; to have nothing in view but God and your salvation; to sacrifice to these health, peace, reputation, and even life itself; to hate sin, and yet love the sinner; to repress the turbulent; to encourage the timid; to watch over the conduct of even the ministers of religion; to be patient and meek; to embrace all kinds of persons; these are now my duties—extensive, pressing, and indispensable duties; these are the duties of all my brethren in the episcopacy, and surely important enough to fill us with terror. But

there are others still more burdensome to be borne by me, in this particular portion of Christ's church which is committed to my charge, and where everything is to be raised, as it were, from its foundation; to establish ecclesiastical discipline; to devise means for the religious education of Catholic youth—that precious portion of pastoral solicitude; to provide an establishment for training up ministers for the sanctuary and the services of religion, that we may no longer depend on foreign and uncertain coadjutors; not to leave unassisted any of the faithful who are scattered through this immense continent; to preserve their faith untainted amidst the contagion of error surrounding them on all sides; to preserve in their hearts a warm charity and forbearance toward every other denomination of Christians, and at the same time to preserve them from that fatal and prevailing indifference which views all religions as equally acceptable to God and salutary to men. Ah! when I consider these additional duties, my heart sinks almost under the impression of terror which comes upon it. In God alone can I find any consolation. He knows by what steps I have been conducted to this important station, and how much I have always dreaded it. He will not abandon me unless I first draw down His malediction by my unfaithfulness to my charge. Pray, dear brethren, pray incessantly, that I may not incur so dreadful a punishment. Alas! the punishment would fall on you as well as on myself; my unfaithfulness would rebound on you and deprive you of some of the means of salvation."

Having devoted his diocese in a special manner to the Mother of God, and placed it under her protection, he concluded his address exhorting all to cultivate a true devotion to the Blessed Virgin.[1]

[1] Rev. Dr. Charles I. White in Darras, "A General History of the Catholic Church." New York, 1865, iv., pp. 615–18.

The consecration and installation of Bishop Carroll were coeval with a strange project to erect an episcopal see in the State of New York.

While the Church was slowly gaining a permanent footing in the cities of that State, there was an attempt to establish a French mission, and, strangest of all, a Bishop among the Oneida Indians, which forms one of the curious episodes in our history.

In December, 1775, Peter Penet, a native of France, landed at Providence from St. Domingo, and made proposals to General Washington and to Congress to supply the colonies with arms and ammunition. He made some impression on them and went to France, but being without means, never rendered any real service. He was subsequently engaged in other schemes. In 1783 he is described as a merchant in Philadelphia, but four years after was trading with the Oneidas, over whom he acquired great influence, the Indians believing him to be an ambassador to them from the King of France. By means of a pretended dream be obtained from the tribe a grant of ten miles square, which the State of New York confirmed. He also induced the tribe to apply to the French Minister at New York for a priest, and a Rev. Mr. Perrot arrived there in 1789. The French Minister requested the Oneidas to receive him kindly, give him a glebe of three hundred acres, clear a field, and build a house.

The Rev. Mr. Perrot took up his residence at Lake Oneida, and remained there for some time, engaged from the outset in a struggle with the Rev. Mr. Kirkland. As to what he accomplished in reviving the earlier teachings of Catholic missionaries we know nothing.[1]

[1] Hough, "Notices of Peter Penet, and of his Operations among the

But in 1790 one Jean de la Mahotière, professing to be the agent of the Oneida Indians, whom he represented as a nation occupying a great territory between the United States and Canada, addressed a petition to Pope Pius VI., and forwarded it to the Nuncio at Paris, asking the establishment of a Bishop at Oneida. "We have built a church," he says, "in the City of Oneida, we have provided it with sacred vessels, bells, books and everything necessary for divine service," and he asks the Sovereign Pontiff to confirm "the Rev. John Louis Victor Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, a man full of merit and good works, whom the Oneida nation and the chiefs of the Six Nations have nominated Bishop of Oneida and Primate of the Six Nations, and presented to your Holiness in that quality: he has expended at least two-thirds of his fortune in works of religion and benevolence; he has obtained of the Oneida nation the expulsion of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian ministers, as they have no longer among them either church or flock." This Bishop was to take six Capuchins with him as soon as he was appointed. But though this application was transmitted through the Nuncio at Paris with a Latin petition of the Oneida nation signed by the chiefs of the Wolf, Turtle, and the Bear families, the magnificent scheme was never realized.[1]

Oneida Indians, including a plan prepared by him for the government of that tribe," Lowville, 1866, pp. 16, 17, 21; Carey, "American Museum," v., p. 213.

[1] Petition of Oneidas forwarded by Jean de la Mahotière; Letter of the Nuncio, August 2, 1790; Latin supplication of the Oneida nation for a Bishop. Archives of the Propaganda. The names signed to these Oneida petitions coincide with names in Penet's Plan of Government; and there is no clue to decide whether one or two priests were really there. Hough, who spent some time investigating Penet's acts, says that Rev. Mr. Perrot left before 1793. The whole affair is extraordinary, and the priest probably learned that he had been duped by an adventurer.

One result of the Revolution was the freedom of the press, so that Catholic literature could be diffused throughout the country, and the faithful supplied with books of devotion, and, in case of necessity, the doctrines of the Church could be defended when assailed.

The publication of Catholic books in this country, begun almost by stealth, as we have seen, in colonial days, was taken up more openly after the rupture with Great Britain. C. Talbot, a bookseller from Dublin, was apparently the first to enter on the career of a Catholic publisher, issuing an edition of Reeve's "History of the Bible," from his book-store in Front Street, Philadelphia, in 1784; and "The Catholic Christian Instructed," in 1786. Molyneux's "Sermon on the death of Father Farmer" was printed the same year; Aitkins' "Compilation of the Litanies and Vespers" appeared in 1787; and two years later "The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Faith" was printed for T. Lloyd: and "The True Principles of a Catholic," also in 1789, by Matthew Carey. At this time the last-named able and energetic man, already publishing a general magazine called "The American Museum," announced on the 26th January, 1789, his intention of publishing a quarto Catholic Bible, at the price of six dollars.

The Bishop-elect and his clergy became patrons of the Bible, receiving subscriptions for the work, Rev. Charles Sewell at Baltimore; Rev. John Ashton at Whitemarsh; Rev. Thomas Digges, Mellwood, Md.; Rev. Robert Molyneux, Bohemia; Rev. Leonard Neale and Rev. Mr. Doyle at Port Tobacco; Rev. Ignatius Matthews, Rev. Augustine Jenkins, and Rev. John Boarman, Newtown; Rev. Henry Pile, Newport, Md.; Rev. James Walton, St. Inigoes; Rev. Francis Beeston, Rev. Lawrence Graessel, and Rev. Thomas Keating, Philadelphia; Rev. James Pellentz, York County,

Pa.; and Rev. William O'Brien, New York. The publication was begun in parts on the 12th of December, 1789; but this plan was soon abandoned, and it was issued complete in two volumes of 487 and 490 pages, soon after Bishop Carroll's return, on the 19th of November, 1790, the first English quarto Bible printed in this country, as well as the first Catholic edition.

It was a great undertaking for the little body of Catholics at that time, and remains a most creditable monument to the zeal and public spirit of Matthew Carey.[1]

This Bible was a reprint of the edition of the Venerable Bishop Challoner's revision issued in 1763–4.

The Church in the United States, after passing through great and serious dangers which menaced it with complete disintegration and ruin, was at last organized with a duly constituted episcopal see, and a Bishop, chosen by his fellow-priests, duly appointed by the Sovereign Pontiff, and consecrated in conformity with the rules of the Catholic Church. The Catholic body in the United States were thus in a better position than their fellow-believers in England, who still remained under the direction of Vicars-Apostolic.

The survivors of the old body of the clergy, who had viewed with such distrust and alarm the proposed appointment of a Vicar-Apostolic, became the nucleus for the future

[1] O'Callaghan, "A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and parts thereof printed in America," Albany, 1861, pp. xxiv–xxviii; Shea, "A Bibliographical Account of Catholic Bibles," New York, 1859; Finotti, "Bibliographia Catholica Americana," New York, 1872, pp. 31, etc.

When more than thirty years ago I called the attention of Bible collectors to the existence of this Bible of 1790, I could scarcely obtain credence, the Bible of 1805 being erroneously regarded as the first Catholic Bible. In fact, I could convince my friend, George Livermore of Boston, only by sending my grandfather's Bible to enable him to see that type and paper were unmistakably American.

American clergy. But they were fast dwindling away, and the isolated priests arriving from abroad, differed from them and from each other in training, ideas of discipline, ritual, and varied in theological views and their system of parochial work.

The Church in the United States, however, could not long depend on an uncertain supply of priests from Europe. Sound policy required the fostering of vocations in the new diocese, and an institution for training young levites in the learning and in the true spirit of the priest of God's holy Church. But where was the newly-consecrated Bishop to find men or means to found such an establishment? Providence provided both. The Rev. Mr. de Saint Felix, Superior of the Theological Seminary at Toulouse, impelled by the signs of the coming war on religion, wrote to Rev. Mr. Emery, Superior-General of the Company of St. Sulpice at Paris, that prudence, it seemed to him, dictated the founding of an establishment in some other country. The idea was approved by Rev. Mr. Emery and his associates in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, one of whom, Rev. Mr. Galais, suggested that the Seminary should be founded at Gallipolis, where many emigrants from France at that time proposed to settle. The Pope's Nuncio at Paris, Cardinal Dugnani, had broader views; he called the attention of Mr. Emery to the erection of the See of Baltimore, and the presence of the first Bishop at that very time in England. The Superior of St. Sulpice accordingly addressed Bishop Carroll, and the Nuncio supported his letter,[1] which urged the Bishop to proceed to Paris in order to confer with some of the Gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, who wished to devote their experience and services gratis to the education of young men for

[1] Archbishop of Rhodez to Right Rev. John Carroll, August 24, 1790.

the priesthood in America. It would appear, however, that this generous offer did not, at first, impress Dr. Carroll very favorably, as he wrote for further information, and perhaps fearing personal annoyance from the French government as a Jesuit already expelled from that kingdom, he declined to go to Paris.[1] As Rev. Mr. de St. Felix would not undertake to carry out the project which he had himself proposed, the venerable Superior of St. Sulpice, who had taken up the matter too earnestly to be deterred by obstacles, dispatched Rev. Francis Charles Nagot to London to confer with the Bishop of Baltimore. This learned and able Sulpitian was already well advanced in years, but his zeal for the salvation of souls impelled him to accept the new and arduous undertaking. Whatever doubt or distrust may have, at first, influenced Dr. Carroll vanished when he met the Rev. Mr. Nagot. He frankly exposed his utter poverty and want of all resources, but he found that interest had been excited in France, and that means had been placed at the disposal of the Sulpitians to enable them to found a Seminary in America.

"We arranged all preliminaries," wrote Bishop Carroll, "and I expect at Baltimore early in the summer some of the gentlemen of that Institution to set hand to work; and I have reason to believe they will find means to carry their plan into effect. Thus we shall be provided with a house fit for the reception of and further improvement in the higher sciences of the young men whom God may call to an Ecclesiastical state, after their classical education is finished in our Georgetown Academy. While I cannot but thank Divine Providence for opening on us such a prospect, I feel great

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique on du Diocese des Etats Unis"; Right Rev. John Carroll to Rev. Charles Plowden, September 2, 1790.

sorrow in the reflection that we owe such a benefit to the distressed state of Religion in France." [1]

On Mr. Nagot's return to Paris, the Superior of St. Sulpice selected those who were to found the Seminary at Baltimore. Others volunteered, including some young students in the Seminary. The colony was composed of the Rev. Francis C. Nagot as Superior; Rev. Mr. Levadoux, who had been Director of the Seminary of Limoges; Rev. John Tessier, former Director of the Seminary of Viviers; Rev. Anthony Garnier, former Director of the Seminary of Lyons, with Mr. Montdesir, Messrs. Tulloh and Floyd, natives of England; Caldwell, an American, and Perinault, a Canadian, as Seminarians. The Rev. Mr. Delavau, canon of St. Martin of Tours, who proposed to reside in America till calm was restored to France, joined their party.

Having chartered an American vessel at St. Malo, whence they sailed April 8, 1791, they took as passenger the famous Chateaubriand, then a young man of twenty. The vessel was nearly wrecked on leaving the port, and was detained more than two weeks in the Channel. During the long voyage high mass was sung on board every Sunday by Canon Delavau, the rest receiving communion at his hands. After long delay the vessel, managed by an unskilful captain, came



FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES OF REV. F. C. NAGOT AND REV. J. A. EMERY.

by the way of the Azores and St. Pierre de Miquelon, and reached Baltimore on the 10th of July, 1791. The Rev.

[1] Bishop Carroll to Lord Arundell, London, October 4, 1790.

Charles Sewall, in the absence of the Bishop, conducted them to a house, No. 94 Baltimore Street, since removed by the opening of North, then called Belvidere Street.

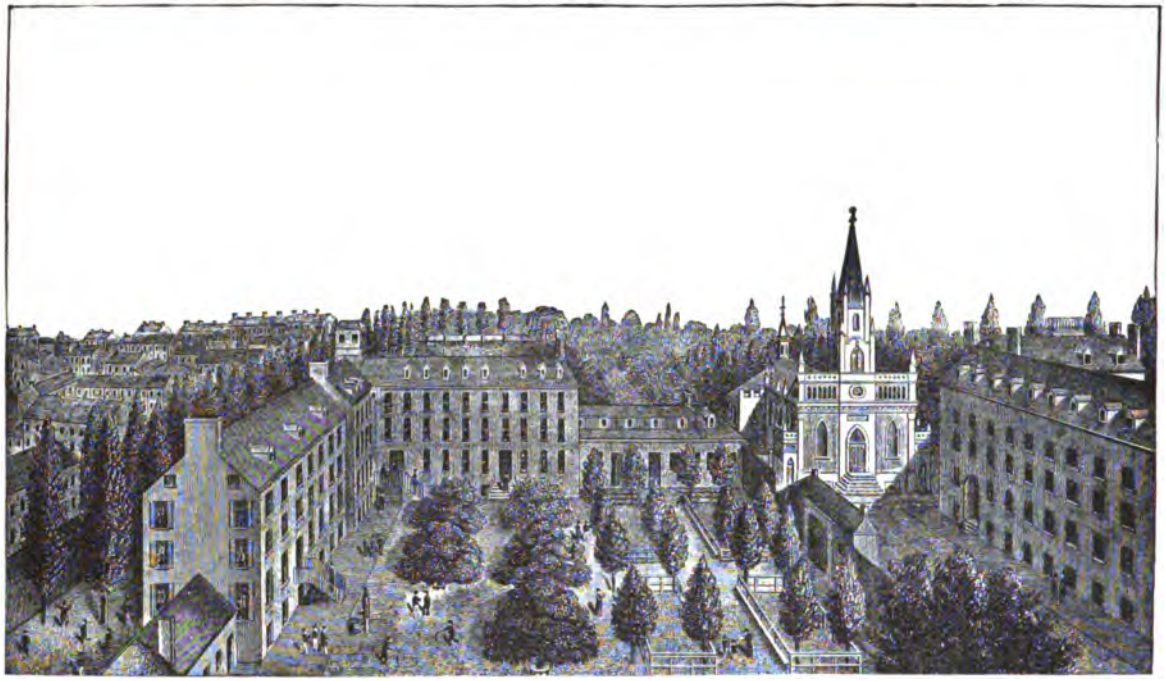
Announcing to his flock in America the coming of the Sulpitians, Bishop Carroll wrote: "I propose fixing them very near to my own home, the Cathedral of Baltimore, that they may be, as it were, the clergy of the church and contribute to the dignity of divine worship. This is a great and auspicious event for our diocese, but it is a melancholy reflection, that we owe so great a blessing to the lamentable catastrophe in France."

A building put up for a public house and known as "The One Mile Tavern," with a plot of four acres, was hired, and Rev. Mr. Nagot soon purchased it for £850, Maryland currency, equivalent to $2,266.66. The house of revelry was to become one of prayer and devotion. The Sulpitians took possession on the 18th of July, and here St. Mary's Theological Seminary was opened. The first mass was celebrated on the 20th of July, a room on the second floor having been fitted up as a chapel, and blessed by Rev. Mr. Nagot, who dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin Mary.[1]

On the 29th of May, 1792, the Rev. Messrs. Chicoineau, David, and Flaget, who had all been Directors of Seminaries in France, arrived with two Seminarians, Messrs. Badin and Barrel.

The advent of such a number of learned, pious, and experienced priests was of immense importance to the Church.

[1] Bishop Carroll to Bishop of Quebec, January 20, 1792. Tessier, "Epoques du Seminaire de Baltimore"; Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique ou du Diocese des Etats Unis"; Rev. Mr. Tessier, Replies to Queries of Bishop Bruté in 1832; Nagot, in "Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle"; Chateaubriand, "Recollections of Italy, England, and America," Philadelphia, 1816, pp. 123–9.



ST. MARY'S COLLEGE AND SEMINARY.[1]

[1] The building seen at the right in the background is the One Mile Inn, the original seminary. A chapel was soon after built out on the level with the first floor.

The Seminary could not give employment to all, and priests who had filled the chair of Director or Professor in great seminaries took up with cheerfulness the hardships of missionary life in the United States.

The Prefecture-Apostolic under the Very Rev. Dr. Carroll extended to the parts which had been subject to the Vicar-Apostolic of London, and included the territory of the old English colonies; but no act of the Holy See deprived the Bishop of Quebec of the missions in Maine, New York, the country northwest of the Ohio; or the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba of Natchez, Baton Rouge, and other points at the South. The expressions in Dr. Carroll's Bulls left it in doubt whether his diocese comprised the Thirteen States or the whole territory included in the United States. The matter was referred to Rome, and the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide on the 29th day of January, 1791, placed the whole territory of the United States under the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll, and put an end to all claims of the other prelates.[1] Detroit, and a considerable part of Michigan and

[1] Ex audientia SSmi habita die 13 Januarii 1791.

Proposito per me dubio super jurisdictione episcopi Baltimorensis in America Septentrionali, an scilicet præter tredecim Provincias, quæ in Brevi erectionis nominantur, alii quoque terrarum tractus contigui ad Baltimorensem sedem pertinere debeant, qui licet fœderationi Americanæ subjecti, non adhuc tamen in formam Provinciæ sunt redacti.

SS^mus^ Dominus Noster Pius Pont. VI. declaravit die 6 Novembris 1789 omnes Christi fideles non solum in Fœderatæ Americæ Provinciis, sed etiam in aliis finitimis extra provincialibus regionibus, ejusdem tandem Reipublicæ dominio subjectis existentes, quamvis alteri cujuscumque Diœcesis Episcopo hucusque subjecti fuerint, in posterum Episcopo Baltimoren. subjectos fore et esse debere, quibuscumque &c.

Datum Romæ 29 Jan^rii^ 1791.

L. Card. Antonellus, Præf^us^

some of Ohio, was still claimed by England as part of Canada; and Spain claimed Natchez as territory wrested from the British in war. Until the United States acquired possession at these points Dr. Carroll's authority was not exercised there.

America was to be blessed also with a community of clois tered, contemplative nuns. To the worldly, such a body might seem a burthen rather than an aid to a struggling Church. Not such was the judgment of Bishop Carroll. Pious Catholics in Maryland had solicited the Carmelite nuns of Antwerp to found a house of their order at Port Tobacco. Bishop Carroll gladly favored the establishment of a community intended solely for prayer, and for imploring the happy success of the American mission and the propagation of the Catholic faith in this New World.

When the Catholics near Port Tobacco forwarded to the Convent at Antwerp their request for a branch of that venerable community, which dates back almost to St. Teresa herself, having been founded by Mother Anne of the Ascension, only thirty-seven years after the death of the illustrious reviver of the Carmelite order, the Bishop of Antwerp addressed a letter to Bishop Carroll, and the newly appointed Bishop of Baltimore readily gave his consent. Rev. Charles Neale selected four nuns, one from the Mother-house at Antwerp, Mother Clare F. Dickinson, and three from the convent at Hogstraet, Reverend Mother Bernardina Mathews, Superior of that house, and her nieces Aloysia and Eleonora Mathews. They left Europe April 9, 1790, and after a tempestuous voyage landed at Mr. Robert Brent's, near Port Tobacco. Rev. Charles Neale had given the little community a farm belonging to him, but as it had not a building suited to the wants of the nuns, they exchanged it for property belonging to Mr Baker Brooke, who had just erected a large



PORTRAIT OF MOTHER FRANCES DICKINSON.

house. Here the community organized, taking possession on the 15th of October. Father Charles Neale gave them also £1,370 coming to him from his parents. Mother Bernardina Mathews was the first Superior, and directed this little community of contemplative nuns till her happy death, June 12, 1800. By their severe rule these Carmelite nuns are re-



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF MOTHER FRANCES DICKINSON.

quired to recite the Divine Office in choir, and to fast eight months in the year; to abstain from flesh meat, except in case of sickness; to wear woolen clothes, and to sleep on straw. Rigid as the rule is, delicate ladies who have entered the community have lived to an advanced age.

The convent prospered for a time, supported mainly by the produce of their farm; devoted to the exercises of their rule, guided in spiritual matters and aided in their temporal concerns by their pious founder, Rev. Charles Neale.[1]

Bishop Carroll, thinking that in the condition of affairs in the United States the Carmelites could render great service by opening an Academy for young persons of their own sex, represented the matter to the Sovereign Pontiff, and the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda replied that it gave His Holiness incredible joy to find that they had gone to America to diffuse the knowledge and practice of religious perfection; and he added that, considering the great scarcity of laborers and the defects of education in these States, they might sacrifice that part of their institution to the promotion

[1] Memoir on the Carmelite Convent, prepared in 1844 for Bishop Fenwick of Boston.

of a greater good, and Bishop Carroll was directed to encourage them to undertake it.[1]

The Carmelites, however, were loth to swerve from the rule under which they had lived, and did not avail themselves of the permission. The Bishop himself, trained to a religious life, and feeling as the great blow of his life the decree which exiled him from it, could not press these pious women to adopt a course repugnant to them, for he regarded the community "as a safeguard for the preservation of the diocese."[2]

The diocese of Baltimore, comprising the whole actual territory of the United States at that period, the country east of the Mississippi River, except Florida, had now a Bishop in the person of the Right Rev. John Carroll, with his See at Baltimore, and a body of clergy comprising about thirty-five priests. There were Catholic churches at Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston; at St. Inigoes, Newtown, Newport, Port Tobacco, Rock Creek, Annapolis, Whitemarsh, Bohemia, Tuckahoe, Deer Creek, Frederick, Hagerstown, and some minor stations in Maryland; Lancaster, Conewago, Goshenhoppen, Elizabethtown, York, Reading, Carlisle, Greensburg, in Pennsylvania; Coffee Run, Delaware; at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, in the parts under his actual control; while there were churches and priests at Detroit, Raisin River, Michilimackinac, and, soon after, at Fort Miami, in parts still held by England, and under the control of the Bishop of Quebec; and a priest and church at Natchez, and a church at Villa Gayoso, under the Bishop of Havana, Spain holding the district by conquest.

[1] Bishop Carroll to Rev. Mother Mathews, March 1, 1793.

[2] Same to same, Nov. 9, 1795.

There were scattered Catholics in other parts visited from time to time, where a log chapel or a private house held the faithful, when the coming of a priest cheered and encouraged them.

A College had been commenced at Georgetown; and there was a diocesan Seminary in Baltimore. The austere community of discalced Carmelite nuns at Port Tobacco were the only body of religious women.

The diocese was immense in extent, with Catholics increasing in number at isolated points, travel and communication being so difficult that they often could not easily make known their wants, or be reached by the small number of priests in the mission.

The Holy See had especially urged the holding of a diocesan synod, and Bishop Carroll had felt its necessity in order to bring together the priests of his diocese who differed in nationality, education, and system of missionary work, to adopt statutes adapted to the position of the Church in the United States, which would, in time, insure uniformity of management of the widely separated missions of his diocese.

But other matters demanded his immediate attention. Difficulties at Boston had hastened his return from Europe. The Rev. Louis Rousselet, who succeeded de la Poterie at Boston, soon scandalized his little flock of sixty Catholics, so that when a priest, born in Boston, reached that city in 1790, Bishop Carroll anticipated consoling results from his ministry. This priest was the Rev. John Thayer, a convert. He had in early life been averse to study, but at the age of sixteen began his education in earnest, apparently under the Rev. Dr. Chauncey. He was in time ordained a minister and acted for two years as chaplain at Castle William. An inclination to travel led him abroad, and he landed in Europe toward the close of the year 1781. After spending some

time in France and England he proceeded on his tour and was in Rome at the time of the death of St. Benedict Labre. He had already begun to study the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and had conferred with some learned priests; but miracles and prayers to Saints were still very shocking to all his ideas. He joined others in ridiculing those of Labre, till, it is said, a gentleman challenged him to go and investigate some of the cases. He did so, and to his astonishment found the evidence such as would have decided a case in any court of justice. He was received into the Church at Rome, May 25, 1783. The Sovereign Pontiff gave him audience several times, and bestowed upon him a crucifix which Mr. Thayer always preserved. Returning to France he entered the College of Navarre, and was admitted by the Archbishop in an Institution for Recent Converts. Having decided to enter the ecclesiastical state he was received into the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Here the learned Rev. Mr. Nagot watched him carefully, finding much in his zeal and piety to admire. His vacations were spent in Pilgrimages—once to La Trappe, where he remained some time; at another time to the home of St. Benedict Labre in Amette. As a stranger he was not always welcomed on these pedestrian pilgrimages, and was at times refused communion by those who suspected him of being a mere adventurer. After his three years' course he was ordained by the Archbishop of Paris for the mission of the United States.[1] While awaiting the orders of Very Rev. Dr. Carroll he exercised the ministry among the Catholics in London, and among the Irish and English at Paris, converting many Protestants by his zeal.

[1] While at St. Sulpice he visited John Adams and his wife at Auteuil. Mrs. Adams to Rev. John Shaw, January 18, 1785. "Letters of Mrs. Adams," Boston, 1848, p. 228.

He reached Baltimore in February, 1790, after a voyage of eleven weeks' duration, during which he said mass almost every day. The Very Rev. Dr. Carroll received him kindly, and soon after set out with him for Philadelphia, whence he repaired to Boston. He preached on the Sunday after his arrival, and naturally attracted many to hear him: but he was soon prostrated by rheumatism, which confined him for a long time to his room. The account of his conversion, which he had published in English and French, was widely read, and soon elicited sneers and taunts in the newspapers of the day. He at first declined to enter into any controversy. Some came to him for instruction, and in July, 1790, he estimated the Catholic population of Boston at about one hundred—French, Irish, and Americans.

The zealous American priest soon found that his associate was far from edifying, and that, like his predecessor, he would bring disgrace and odium on the Church.[1] The Very Rev. Dr. Carroll accordingly withdrew his faculties.[2]

[1] "Account of the Conversion of the Rev. Mr. John Thayer, lately a Protestant Minister at Boston, in North America," published apparently at London in 1787; and in French at Paris. The English ran through several editions, and was reprinted in Baltimore in 1788, Hartford 1790, and the French in Canada about the same time, and a Spanish edition appeared the same year. It has since been frequently reprinted. Rev. Mr. Nagot included it in his "Recueil de Conversions Remarquables nouvellement operées dans quelques Protestans," Paris, 1791, adding his own account of Thayer's life at St. Sulpice, with extracts from his letters from Baltimore and Boston. Archbishop of Seleucia to Cardinal Antonelli, Fontainebleau, October 20, 1788; Rev. J. Thayer to Very Rev. L. Neale, Vicar-General, Boston, October 14, 1790; "Herald of Freedom," August 31, 1790; Rev. John Thayer to Bishop Carroll, Boston, January 6, 1791, April, 1791; Rev. Louis Rousselet to Bishop Carroll, January 15, 1791; Life of St. Benedict Joseph Labre.

[2] Rousselet's faculties were withdrawn in 1791 and he sailed to Guadeloupe. Shortly after, that island was captured by the French and Rousselet and many French inhabitants condemned to the guillotine. It was

Some time after his arrival, Rev. Mr. Thayer, in an advertisement dated November 24, 1790, announced in a paper of the day that he would preach in any of the neighboring towns on evenings during the week, and would answer objections to the doctrines which he announced.

The Rev. George Lesslie, minister of the Congregational church at Washington, New Hampshire, taking this as a challenge to the New England clergy, came forward thus: "As the gauntlet is thrown by Mr. Thayer, it is taken up by George Lesslie."

The Catholic priest had not challenged the Protestant clergy to a controversy, but on the 26th of January, 1791, he professed his readiness to meet Mr. Lesslie or any other, and announced that he would the next day open a controversial lecture at the Catholic church. "It is no vain presumption in my own learning or abilities that prompts me to this step; my only motive is the glory of God in the salvation of poor souls. My entire trust is in the strength of my Redeemer and the goodness of my cause." Rev. Mr. Thayer began by an exposition of Catholic doctrine, and Rev. Mr. Lesslie replied by selecting the point of Infallibility, against which he produced his arguments. The Catholic controversialist replied at length, but the New Hampshire minister did not attempt to refute his arguments. Rev. Mr. Thayer waited for a year, during which he was assailed with squibs and attacks in the papers, even John Gardner, a lawyer of eminence, entering the field with low scurrility, and making assertions,

the hour of grace for the unhappy priest. He roused the faith of his fellow-prisoners, and prepared many of them for death, hearing their confessions as he could under the circumstances. "But as for me," he said, "I must go into eternity without having the efficacious graces of the sacraments applied to my poor soul." "U. S. Catholic Magazine," viii., p. 104.

which Thayer at once called upon him to prove. But the lawyer, instead of sustaining his plea by evidence, attempted to wriggle out of his disgraceful position by coarseness and vulgarity.

Finding that Rev. Mr. Lesslie would not attempt to answer, the Catholic clergyman addressed him on the marks of truth in the Roman Church, and the marks of falsity of all the sects.[1]

The Rev. Mr. Thayer was zealous in attending his little Catholic flock in Boston, offering his daily mass, catechizing the children, preaching to adults, ever diligent in the confessional, and attending the sick. He extended his visits to all accessible places where he heard of Catholics needing his ministry.[2]

But with all his zeal and his attention to his duties, the Rev. Mr. Thayer could not avoid difficulties. The Rev. Mr. Rousselet was still at Boston, and set up another church, dividing the little congregation.

Convinced that his presence was imperatively required there, Bishop Carroll proceeded to Boston in the spring of 1791. He succeeded in uniting the two parties, who accepted Rev. Mr. Thayer; provision was made for the payment of the debts incurred before the separation, including some created by the Abbé de la Poterie, and a bill due for church articles forwarded apparently through the Archbishop of Paris. Regulations were adopted for renting the pews, the best one in the church being reserved for the French consul.[3] But the

[1] "Controversy between the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary of Boston, and the Rev. George Lesslie, Pastor of a Church in Washington, New Hampshire. To which are added several other pieces." [No place or date.]

[2] Campbell, "Early History of the Catholic Church in Boston," in "U. S. Catholic Magazine," viii., p. 114.

[3] Bishop Carroll, "Instructions to the Catholic Congregation at Boston."

troubles caused by his predecessors and his own inexperience neutralized the efforts of Rev. Mr. Thayer.

The Bishop of Baltimore had the Governor and his wife as auditors in the Chapel on School Street. He was received with courtesy by the people of Boston generally, and having been invited to the annual dinner of the oldest military organization, "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," he pronounced the thanksgiving at the close of the banquet.[1]

Bishop Carroll was highly pleased with his reception in Boston. "It is wonderful," he wrote, "to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where, a few years ago, a Popish priest was thought to be the greatest monster in the creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed to the opposite side of the street rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago. The horror which was associated with the idea of a papist is incredible; and the scandalous misrepresentations by their ministers increased the horror every Sunday. If all the Catholics here were united, their number would be about one hundred and twenty."[2]

Besides the little flock in Boston, another body of Catholics in New England appealed to the Bishop for a priest. The Indians of St. John's River and the Passamaquoddy with Micmac deputies addressed the Bishop through Mr. John Allan, who had been Indian superintendent of the Eastern department.

They forwarded to the Bishop in token of their Catholicity, a crucifix which had been kept in a chief's family for several generations. Mr. Allan, who had commanded these

[1] Carey, "American Museum," ix., (43; "U. S. Catholic Magazine," viii., p. 149; "Gazette of U. S.," June 15, 18, 1791.

[2] Letter cited by Rev. C. I. White in Darras' "General History of the Church," iv., p. 618.

Indians during the Revolution, attested the firmness of their faith.

"From a long acquaintance with these people," he wrote, "and having the command of them during the late war between America and Britain, I am in some degree, knowing to their sentiments and disposition respecting their religious tenets. They are a very exemplary people, consistent with their customs and manners, as are to be met with, zealous and tenacious of the rites of the Church and strictly moral, cautious of misbehaving in point of religion. Though rude and uncultivated in many other matters, they are truly cultivated in this, and it was always observed by the French gentlemen of the clergy, whom we were favored with during the war, that they never saw a more respectable collection in France, and excepting the Cathedrals and some particular place of worship, their performance, chants, etc., in Latin, were in most instances superior to any. I have been myself charmed with them when shut up in the woods. And though of a different sentiment, believe them truly to be good Christians, meriting the peculiar blessings of the Deity. They teach their children when able to lisp a word, the service, and as they grow up, become in a manner innate, this owing to the assiduity of the French missionaries, much to their honor." [1]

Their address depicted their desolate condition, with no one to instruct them, offer the holy sacrifice, or administer the Sacraments. The case was urgent, as Rousselet, after leaving Boston, had gone among these Indians.[2]

As soon as he was able Bishop Carroll dispatched to them the Rev. Francis Ciquard, whom he commended in a letter

[1] John Allan to Bishop Carroll, May 31, 1791.

[2] Same to same, July 28, 1792.

exhorting the Indians to profit by his instructions and emulate their ancestors in the zeal and fidelity they displayed under the good Fathers of former days.[1]

Like these Indians the Penobscots under their gallant and truly Catholic chief who led them during the Revolution in the service of the United States, had all clung to their faith, although long deprived of priest and sacrifice.[2]

After Bishop Carroll had made known to his clergy generally his intention of convoking a synod of the priests of his widely extended diocese, he issued on the 27th of September, 1791, the official notice of the convocation.

On the day appointed, the 7th of November, 1791, Bishop Carroll had the consolation of opening the Synod earnestly recommended by the Holy See, and greatly desired by himself. The numerous difficulties environing the undertaking had been overcome, and for the first time in the history of the country a Catholic bishop was to gather his clergy around him to deliberate on the rules to be adopted for the good of souls.

Conformably with his desire and convocation, his episcopal mansion beheld the gathering of venerable priests, laborers for years in the missions in the days of penal laws, the Very Rev. James Pellentz, a German, Vicar-General for the diocese; Very Rev. James Frambach, also a German and Vicar-General; Very Rev. Francis Anthony Fleming, of the order of St. Dominic, Vicar-General for the Northern District;

[1] Bishop Carroll's Reply to the Indians; Shea, "History of the Catholic Missions," New York, 1855, p. 157.

[2] For Orono, see "Massachusetts Historical Collections," ix., p. 52; "Piscataway Evangelical Magazine," i., p. 200; "New York Spectator," April 4, 1801; Kingston, "The New Biographic Dictionary," Baltimore, 1810, pp. 219-220. He died at Indian Old Town, February 5, 1801, at the age of 118; his wife, Madame Orono, surviving him till January, 1809.

Very Rev. Robert Molyneux, Vicar-General for the Southern District; Rev. Francis Charles Nagot, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Baltimore; and the following priests—John Ashton, pastor of Baltimore; Henry Pile, Leonard Neale, Charles Sewall, Sylvester Boarman, William Elling, James Vonhuffel, Robert Plunkett, Stanislaus Cerfoumont, Francis Beeston, Lawrence Graessel, Joseph Eden, John Tessier, Director of the Seminary; Anthony Garnier, and the Rev. Louis Cahier de Lavau, Canon of Tours. The little body showed in its diverse nationality what a blending of races the Church was to present, for there were Americans, English, Irish, French, Belgians, Hollanders, and Germans.

The clergy having all assembled at the Episcopal residence on the 7th of November, Bishop Carroll in his rochet, amice, cincture, stole, and cope, mitred, and holding his crosier, went in procession preceded by the priests from his house to the pro-cathedral church of St. Peter, in which all had been prepared according to the Roman Pontifical. The Bishop then pronounced an eloquent discourse suited to the occasion, after which all made their profession of faith.

The Revs. Leonard Neale and William Elling were named promoters, and the Rev. Francis Beeston, secretary.[1]

The first Synod in this country was thus opened, marking a new era in the history of the Church.

In the first session statutes were adopted as to Baptism, regulating the cases when the sacrament should be administered conditionally, and prescribing care in the keeping and preserving of baptismal registers. As to Confirmation it prescribed as a general rule that it would not be conferred except

[1] There is a sketch of this clergyman from the pen of Bishop Carroll in Kingston, "The New American Biographic Dictionary," Baltimore, 1810, pp. 40–1.

to those who had attained the age of reason, and were sufficiently instructed to approach the tribunal of penance. The next day the Holy Eucharist was taken up, and it was enjoined that the faithful should be frequently instructed as to cleanliness of the church, and the proper provision of becoming vestments and vessels for the Holy Sacrifice. As hitherto the faithful in Maryland had not contributed to the maintenance of public worship, the Statute said: "Let them also be notified of the oblations which the primitive Christians always offered at Mass; and let them be taught that those are most unmindful of God's glory, who contribute nothing to supply the means, without which the offices of religion are stripped of their dignity and authority, and the devout worship of the Holy Eucharist much diminished." It accordingly prescribed a custom now familiar to all, that two should be appointed in every church to take up the offertory collection of the faithful after the Gospel had been read. Where no provision was made for the support of the priest or the poor, one-third of the collections was to go to each purpose, the third was to be applied to the purchase of plate and vestments, the repair of the church, and all was to be devoted to this purpose in other cases.

The proper instruction of children for their first communion was carefully prescribed.

In the fourth session, regulations were adopted in regard to Penance, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony. As to this last sacrament the Synod adopted the decree of a Council held at Lima by Saint Turibius.

On the 10th the Synod was joined by the Rev. John Thayer, pastor at Boston, and the Rev. John Bolton, from St. Joseph's, on the Eastern Shore. On that day was adopted the regulation of the Divine Offices, and the observance of holidays of obligation. In churches where there were sev-

eral priests, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, patroness of the diocese, was to be recited before High Mass; and before the sermon a prayer for the authorities, and a form drawn up by Bishop Carroll was for many years thus recited throughout this country. The Sunday within the octave of the Assumption was made the principal feast of the diocese, and the Holy See was petitioned to affix spiritual favors to its observance. The sanctifying of holidays of obligation, which fell on days when business was generally carried on in the country, presented difficulties, and though the obligation of hearing mass was strictly enforced, faculty was given to the clergy for dispensing in cases where labor could not be avoided without great loss. Vespers and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the afternoon of Sundays and Holidays were also enjoined.

Regulations were then adopted on the life and support of the clergy, and on the burial of those who had neglected to approach the sacraments at Easter.

The Synod then closed with the prescribed formalities, a sermon being delivered by the Rev. John Ashton, after which the "Te Deum" was chaunted.[1]

The question of the appointment of a Bishop as suffragan of Baltimore, or Coadjutor, was discussed at this Synod, and all felt the necessity, so that in case of the death of Bishop Carroll there might be another Bishop to assume the charge of the diocese, without waiting for long months to send a nomination to Rome and obtain an appointment. The long voyages and slow conveyance overland in those days, ren-

[1] "Statuta Synodi Baltimorensis Anno 1791 celebratæ," pp. 4–21, a pamphlet without title-page, evidently issued before the close of 1817. Reprinted in "Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1840." Baltimore, 1842, pp. 7–20. Circular, Sept. 27, 1791. Bishop Carroll's Report to the Propaganda, 1792.

dered communication with Rome very tedious and uncertain, and in Canada the Bishop always had a coadjutor for this very reason.

The proceedings of the Synod were then transmitted to Rome.

The acts of this Synod form the first body of laws adopted for the government of the Church in this country, and they have constantly excited the admiration of all who study them. Years after Bishop Bruté wrote: "We must read over the Synod of 1791, for the form and its authority will be a good standard. In every line you see the Bishop. In all you see how extensively he had studied, and the spirit of faith, charity, and zeal in that first assembly, has served as a happy model for its successors." The first Provincial Council, held at Baltimore in 1829, expressing admiration for the zeal, prudence, and learning displayed by Bishop Carroll in a Synod held when, from the spirit of the time and the scattered position of the faithful, unity was so difficult, ordered the acts of the Synods to be printed at the head of those of the Provincial Council, a position they have to this day retained in all the collections of the Acts of the Provincial Councils of Baltimore.

A few days after the close of the Synod Bishop Carroll issued the following Circular on Christian Marriage:

"When Christ honored the institution of marriage by raising it to the dignity and sanctity of a sacrament, he intended to create in all who were to enter into that state a great respect for it, and to lay on them an obligation of preparing themselves for it, by purifying their consciences and disposing them worthily to receive abundant communications of divine grace. He subjected thereby to the authority and jurisdiction of his Church the manner and rites of its celebration, lest any should violate and profane so holy an insti-

tution by engaging in marriage without due consideration of its sanctity and obligations. It is judged necessary to say this, because lately some of the congregation have been so regardless of their duty in this respect, as to recur to the ministry of those whom the Catholic Church never honored with the commission of administering marriage. The persons here spoken of, and others who have followed their example, hereby rendered themselves guilty of a sacrilegious profanation of a most holy institution at the very moment of their marriage. It must be left to themselves to consider, whether they can expect much happiness in a state into which they entered by committing an offence so grievous and dangerous to their faith.

"To prevent, as much as lies in our power, a renewal of such profanation and sacrilege, you are desired, Rev. Sir, as well as our other Rev. brethren, to make known to all that whoever have lately, or hereafter shall be guilty of applying to be married by any other than the lawful pastors of our Church, cannot be admitted to reconciliation and the Sacraments, till they shall agree to make public acknowledgment of their disobedience before the assembled congregation, and beg pardon for the scandal they have given.



"BISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

"BALT^E. Nov^r 16, 1791.

"The Rev. Mr. FRANCIS BEESTON."

Bishop Carroll issued a Lenten pastoral in 1792, and in a second letter dated May 28, 1792, made known the rules adopted in the synod. The necessity of a pious and

Catholic education of the young to ensure their growing up in the faith, was the opening theme; then he informed them of the foundation of the College of Georgetown and the Seminary at Baltimore. The former could, of course, receive but a comparatively small number, but the pupils there, returning to their homes, would be able to instruct and guide others in local schools, and the College and a Christian training at home would foster vocations for the priesthood, and thus give students to the Seminary. For both institutions he solicited the generous support of the Catholic body. The next topic was the increase of church accommodation



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF REV. FRANCIS BEESTON.

and the maintenance of the clergy. In the rapid growth of the faithful by immigration, the course pursued in Maryland and Pennsylvania from the settlement of those States, could not be adopted generally. There, in most cases, the clergy had purchased farms, and established house-chapels on them, living by the products raised. But under the new order of things, as a congregation gathered in any district, it became their duty to erect a church suited to their wants, and to contribute to the support of a priest who could visit them, or maintain a resident pastor. This obligation had not been generally recognized, and the Bishop showed its binding force. Where it was neglected "churches for the celebration of divine service and the great Eucharistic sacrifice of the law of Grace," says the Bishop, "are not built at all, or are suffered to fall into decay. They are without chalices, without the decent and necessary furniture of the altars, without vestments suited to the different services of the

Church; in a word, without those sacred utensils which its ordinances require, and which contribute to impress the mind with a becoming sense of the majesty of religion, and conciliate respect for its august ceremonies."[1] Many congregations had mass but once a month who could and should have a resident pastor and the constant sacrifice. Religion would be kept alive, their children and servants instructed: in other places no steps had been taken to obtain even an occasional service. This indifference he deplored. "Amongst all the obstructions to the due celebration of divine service, and the regular attendance on the sacred functions of religion, this backwardness of the faithful to contribute for its support," continued the pastoral, "is one of the greatest, as was generally agreed and represented by my venerable brethren, the clergy of the diocese, in a Synod held some months ago." Citing statutes there enacted, the Bishop impressed on his flock the necessity of making sacrifices to God of the means which God had given them, in order to maintain His worship and secure for themselves and their families the ministry of religion. He also encouraged them to greater charity toward the faithful departed, by frequent prayers and the oblation of the holy sacrifice.

The Pastoral Letter of Bishop Carroll, the first document of the kind from a Catholic prelate, spread by the press through the land, was widely read and generally admired. There was nothing in it that any lover of his country or his fellow-men could censure, but one wight took fire at the signature and sent to a newspaper a protest against the "Extraordinary Signature." Bishop Carroll deemed it wise to use the occasion to remove prejudice, though even in the sense attributed by the caviller, his offense was far less than that

[1] Pastoral Letter of Rt. Rev. John Carroll, 6 pp., 4to.

of his fellow-traveller, Bishop Madison, who claimed to be bishop of a whole State, Virginia, while he modestly claimed only one city—Baltimore.

"The Roman Catholic Bishop of Baltimore," he wrote, "in a late letter to his flock, which acknowledges his pastoral jurisdiction, adopts the language sanctioned by the immemorial usage of his church, and takes his appellation from the town where his episcopal see is erected. He has not invaded the rights of any religious society" and "has been careful to preserve the language of his predecessors in the episcopal charge, from its institution, near eighteen hundred years ago, down to the present time, for he knows that the integrity of Christian doctrine, generally, is preserved best by a faithful adherence to the same modes of speech; and he is not disposed to sacrifice to a spirit of innovation, or to a levelling anti-hierarchical system of religion, those expressions by which all ages of Christianity have designated his office." He criticised the writer's signature of Liberal while championing illiberality, and cited the use of the Fathers who styled themselves Bishops of Rome, Antioch, Corinth, etc., when the mass of the population, still heathen, rejected Christianity and recognized no authority in them. He cited, too, the custom of institutions assuming names without cavil, such as "Bank of Maryland," or "Baltimore Insurance Office," without any one dreaming to accuse them of claiming to own the State, or city, or even exclusive right to conduct their peculiar business.

"So, likewise, let who will, in other religious professions, call themselves 'Bishops of Baltimore,' it will excite neither regret nor opposition in him who is now known by that denomination. Indeed, considering his line of episcopal succession, and source of spiritual jurisdiction, he will think his own the best-founded claim; but, if others judge differently,

he will not accuse them of invading his civil rights, much less will he insinuate that they are guilty of presumption; and less still will he provoke them with a threat or denounce against them 'a return for their temerity.' He conceives that they would treat such threats from him with contempt, and therefore he entertains the same sentiment for those of 'Liberal.'"[1]

When the proceedings of the Synod reached Rome they received the highest commendation, and were approved with some slight modifications.[2] The Sovereign Pontiff took counsel as to the best means of relieving the Rt. Rev. Dr. Carroll of his exceeding great responsibility. Cardinal Antonelli, in replying to the Bishop of Baltimore, agreed at length on the expediency of his having a coadjutor, in preference to a division of the diocese and the erection of a new see. It was

[1] 4 pp., 4to, Nov. 29, 1792. Brent, "Biographical Sketch," pp. 129–135.

[2] Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Carroll, August 16, 1794, says: "They have been read with great pleasure by all, for they give most luminous proofs of your piety, prudence and pastoral vigilance, since what you have deemed proper to enact will apparently be most profitable to the people of your diocese." In the statute on baptism the distinction between Catholic and non-Catholic midwives was to be omitted. In that on confirmation, it was to be noted that infants at the hour of death may very properly and beneficially receive that sacrament. In regard to the retribution for masses, reference is made to Benedict XIV., and it is advised to fix the amount according to the circumstances of the country. In regard to the marriage of persons coming from other parts, the Sacred Congregation prescribed: "Qua propter exigendum ab eis erit testimonium duorum, aut saltem unius testis cum juramento, affirmantis eos qui matrimonium contrahere cupiunt, liberos esse. Si vero hujusmodi testes habere nequeant, Sacra Congregatio, tibi privilegium impertitur (parochis etiam tuæ diœceseos communicabile) ut præmissis publicationibus contrahentes ad juramentum suppletorium admittas; sed pro iis tantum locis, in quibus ultra annum morati non fuerint, nam si mora excesserit annum, vel ordinariorum vel testium fide libertatem probare debent, pro mora ultra annum in unoquoque loco facta." In regard to ecclesiastical burial, priests were to adhere to the Roman Ritual.

considered best, as there was not a hierarchy of several bishops, that the administration of ecclesiastical affairs should be in the hands of one prelate, for thus a uniform mode of discipline would be gradually introduced; the clergy would be more submissive under the direction of one bishop; and such unity would be more conducive to the welfare of souls. On the contrary, if there were two bishops and no metropolitan, dissensions might arise. As a coadjutor could reside in any part of the diocese, he could take charge of a district which the ordinary could not visit, while at the same time the administration would be directed by the latter and according to his will.[1]

The selection of a coadjutor by the Bishop was urged as a means of providing for the succession, as the Sovereign Pontiff would not again permit an election by the clergy. "This Sacred Congregation, His Holiness' will being directly expressed, enjoins your Lordship to take the advice of the older and wiser priests of the diocese, and propose a clergyman, one of those on the American mission, who might be fit and acquainted with the condition of affairs, and the Holy Father would then appoint him coadjutor with all necessary and seasonable faculties."[2]

To remove any objection that might be made by the Federal or State governments, the Holy See ordained that in future the oath to be taken by Bishops in America should be that authorized for the Bishops in Ireland and the Bishop of

[1] The proper for England in the Missal and Breviary had been used in this country; but as it seemed out of place since the separation from England, and could not be easily imposed on priests from Ireland, Germany, and France, Bishop Carroll had solicited and obtained authority to use the Roman Missal and Breviary without the proper for England. Mem. of Bishop Carroll to the Propaganda, August 18, 1792.

[2] Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Carroll, September 29, 1792.

Mohilow, "that in future all pretext of carping and misrepresenting may be removed."[1]

Bishop Carroll had now met a large part of his clergy, and in frank discussion had considered the state of religion

[1] Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Carroll, August 16, 1794.

"Forma Juramenti præstandi ab Episcopo in sua Consecratione.

"Ego N. Electus Ecclesiæ N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero Beato Petro Apostolo Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Dño Nño Domino N. Papæ N. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione, aut in eos violenter manus quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi crediturі sunt, per se aut Nuntios suos seu litteras ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et Regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ Sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini Nostri Papæ et successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, et promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto vel tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eamdem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra, vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et, si talia a quibuscumque tractari, vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse; et quanto citius potero significabo eidem Domino Nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Vocatus ad synodum, veniam nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis decennis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, et Domino Nostro ac successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastorali officio, ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri et populi disciplinam, animarum denique, quæ meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem quovismodo pertinentibus, et vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam, et quam diligentissime exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia adimplebo per certum nuntium ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem, de gremio mei Capituli aut alium in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias personatum habentem, aut, his mihi deficientibus, per Diœcesanum sacerdotem, et clero deficiente omnino, per aliquem alium Presbyterum sæcularem, vel Regularem spectatæ probitatis et Religionis, de sapradictis omnibus plene instructum. De hujusmodi antem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad

and the best plans for gathering the faithful and guiding them in the path of faith and good works.

He then resumed his ordinary labors, involving much of the duty of a parish priest. Baltimore possessed a church, but there were Catholics in the southeastern part of the city, then known as Fell's Point, and their number was swelled by Catholic sailors from vessels lying there. As they were nearly two miles from St. Peter's, they resolved in 1792 to undertake the erection of a church in their own quarter. Bishop Carroll encouraged their zeal, and when they rented an unplastered room in the third story of a house on the corner of Fleet and Bond Streets, and fitted it up as a chapel, he came to offer the holy sacrifice for the first time, attended by



SIGNATURES OF REV. ANTHONY GARNIER AND REV. WILLIAM DU BOURG.

the Rev. John Tessier. Such was the humble beginning of the second church in Baltimore.

The care of this little congregation was committed to the Rev. Anthony Garnier, who discharged his ministry with zeal and fidelity. His congregation was very small at first, consisting of about a dozen people, but he could soon number twelve families, independent of the occasional visitors

Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem per supradictum nuntium transmittendas.

"Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo, neque impignorabo, nec de novo-infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo etiam cum consensu Capituli Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quadam super hoc edita constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo. Sic me Deus adjuvet."

from the ships. The second story of a house on Thames Street was for two or three years their next chapel.[1]

The first body of French priests was followed by Rev. John DuBois, who landed at Norfolk in 1791; by the Sulpitians Rev. Messrs. Benedict Flaget, John B. David, and Chicoisneau, who reached Baltimore March 26, 1792. With the last came Stephen Badin, in minor orders, and Mr. Barret, not yet tonsured.[2]

Some of these Bishop Carroll had solicited especially for the missions near the great lakes, where the French language still prevailed, and where Rev. Mr. Emery purposed founding a solid Sulpitian establishment.

On the 15th of June, 1792, Rev. Messrs. Levadoux and Flaget accordingly set out for the West. Nine days after another reinforcement arrived, consisting of the Sulpitians Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, ordained just as he set sail; Rev. Gabriel Richard, Rev. Francis Ciquard, Director at the Seminary at Bourges; and Rev. Francis Anthony Matignon, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and formerly professor at Orleans.

Rev. Mr. Maréchal, after saying his first mass, became assistant to Rev. Mr. Beeston at Bohemia, and to Rev. Father Fleming in Philadelphia; Rev. Gabriel Richard in September started westward to share the labors of Rev. Mr. Levadoux.

Rev. Mr. Ciquard had come expressly to direct an Indian mission, and Bishop Carroll kept his promise to the Indians of Maine, by sending him to the Passamaquoddies; while the Rev. Mr. Matignon was sent to Boston to labor there as a devoted and holy priest for the rest of his days.[3]

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise"; B. U. Campbell, "Desultory Sketches of the Catholic Church in Maryland," "U. S. Cath. Mag.," i., p. 391; Scharf, "The Chronicles of Baltimore," Baltimore, 1879, p. 69.

[2] Bishop Carroll to Bishop of Quebec, May 4, 1792.

[3] Tessier, "Epoques du Seminaire de Baltimore"; Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise."

In 1794 Bishop Carroll received with welcome another colony of the French clergy exiled by the Revolution, the Rev. William Louis Du Bourg, Rev. John Moranvillé, Rev. Donatian Olivier, and Rev. John Rivet; two years later came Rev. M. J. C. Fournier and Rev. John Lefevre Cheverus; and in 1798 Rev. Anthony Salmon.

The arrival of priests from France elevated the worship in all the churches. Under the penal laws of England, the Catholic priests in the British dominions had offered the Holy Sacrifice in the simplest manner, and other services were conducted with very little ceremonial. But when clergymen arrived accustomed to see the ritual of the Church carried out with pomp and splendor, and many of them devoted for years to instructing candidates for the priesthood in the ceremonies of religion, with all their beautiful and inspiring suggestions to a devout heart, the old slavish spirit of penal days was discarded: the service of the Church, especially in Baltimore, became grand and imposing: its ceremonial was appreciated and loved. The hard-worked missionary priest on his journeys through the interior could not yet invest divine worship with much pomp, but he was paving the way.[1]

The Church in the United States had but recently seen the sacrament of confirmation conferred; and the time had come when for the first time was given that of Holy Orders. The

[1] Fifty years ago in New York a high mass with deacon and subdeacon was a novelty; the first kiss of peace, and first incensing of the people made talk among Catholics for weeks. In England it was even worse. In Bishop Milner's time the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was practically unknown. In his Life by Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, there is a very curious account of the first occasion of a Benediction. A monstrance and a censer were hunted up in old Catholic families, but no one knew what to get for incense, and they finally used rosin from an old plated candlestick.

Rev. Stephen T. Badin accompanied one of the bands of Sulpitians as a seminarian, offering his services to the new diocese. He had received minor orders and the subdiaconate in France; and on the 22d of September, 1792, Bishop Carroll made his first ordination by conferring deacon's orders on him, and minor orders on two other students of the Seminary.[1] On the 25th of May in the following year, at his second ordination, he imposed hands on the Rev. Mr. Badin, and raised him to the awful dignity of the priesthood. The first ordained priest of the diocese of Baltimore was at once dispatched to Kentucky, where in a long, laborious, and fruitful ministry, he showed himself well worthy of his distinction as the first to receive orders at the hands of the first bishop of Baltimore.

The spread of the Church on the Atlantic Coast and in the interior was steady and gradual; and the older mission districts were not neglected. The Rev. Lawrence Graessel, a learned and devoted priest, of whose sanctity tradition has preserved the most exalted estimate, revived the missions in New Jersey, which had been attended by the Rev. Messrs. Schneider and Farmer.

When the Holy See so distinctly expressed its preference in regard to the appointment of a coadjutor, Bishop Carroll, after consulting the oldest and most experienced of his clergy, selected the Rev. Mr. Graessel, and forwarded his name to Rome. The choice shows how little Dr. Carroll was influenced by mere national considerations, and how ready he was to open the way for German priests to the highest honors.

But the health of the devoted priest was already broken by the severity of his apostolical labors. He felt that his career was near its close, and that he would never wear the

[1] Register of Ordinations, Baltimore. Rev. Mr. Mondésir was one of the two.

mitre. A touching letter is extant, in which he communicates to his parents the tidings alike of the proposed honor and of his approaching end.[1]

In 1793 and the following years, several parts of the country were visited by the yellow fever, Philadelphia especially suffering by its ravages. The priests were untiring and heroic in their attendance on the sick, and Rev. Mr. Graessel, though stricken with a fatal malady, resumed the active work of ministering to the sick.

In a pastoral issued in 1800, Bishop Carroll said: "Since its first appearance in the year 1793 the American Church has suffered by this disease alone the loss of eight of the most useful, and, in every respect, most valuable pastors of souls; besides six or seven others, who contracted the disease, and were reduced to the point of death, so that their recovery appears rather a miracle of God's fatherly beneficence, than the effect of natural causes."

Among those who died in Philadelphia were the coadjutor-elect, Rev. Lawrence Graessel, the able Dominicans, Francis Anthony Fleming and Francis V. Keating. Their death, glorious in heroic devotedness, was a serious loss to religion, not only in Philadelphia, but to the whole diocese.

Mr. Fleming's merits, Bishop Carroll wrote, "could not have been exercised anywhere more to the credit of religion than at Philadelphia, where he was universally loved and esteemed. Mr. Graessel, his companion in life and death, and my designated coadjutor, was equally esteemed; but being a German, and consequently not speaking our language with the same purity, or with as much facility, could not render his talents so conspicuous to the most numerous part of the congregation."[2]

[1] "U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine," i., p. 68.

[2] Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy, July 12, 1794.

The Dominican Fathers, Fleming and Keating, were eloquent men, and some of their discourses have been preserved in the periodicals of the day. The former, who had been Rector of the College of his order at Lisbon, had also done service in refuting slanders against the Church.

Miers Fisher, a member of Assembly from Philadelphia, repeating in a debate on Lotteries a lie that any decent man ought to blush to utter, said: "Lotteries were like the Pope's indulgences, forgiving and permitting sins to raise money." To this Father Fleming called attention, but Miers Fisher treated the thing in mockery, and gravely cited one of the miserable forgeries got up against Catholics, a pretended "Price Current of Sins." When Father Fleming challenged him to produce any proof of his original charge from any Catholic writer, or any proof of the authenticity of the pretended list, he squirmed off, as such creatures generally do, into new and different charges against Catholics. Father Fleming was not to be diverted. "I now cite Verus to the tribunal of the public, to prove his accusation. Unless he retract the foul aspersion, or demonstrate that Catholics, by an indulgence, understand a permission to commit sin, he must rest satisfied that every impartial reader shall pronounce him to be obstinate in calumny."

Fisher utterly failed to produce any authority, and tried to sustain himself by passages in Guthrie's Geography and a work of Dr. Robertson, whom he cited as contemporary with the Pope who issued the pretended Account Current!

Father Fleming collected and published the letters as a means of spreading a correct statement of Catholic doctrine.[1]

[1] "The Calumnies of Verus; or, Catholics Vindicated, from certain old slanders lately revived; in a series of letters, published in different Gazettes at Philadelphia, collected and revised by Verax, with the addi-

The learned and zealous French priests whom we have had occasion to mention were not the only persons whom the French revolution compelled to seek refuge on our shores. When the ruthless hand of infidelity drove nuns and other religious women from their loved and quiet homes, several crossed the Atlantic. Among these were some Capuchin nuns from Amiens and Tours, who took up their residence at Baltimore; but all was new and strange, and after seeking encouragement to visit Canada, they set out for Illinois. Here, among a French population, they hoped to find a more congenial home than in Maryland, where they could not adapt themselves to the language and life of the people. They set out in October, 1793, and finally reached New Orleans. A Minim Sister of the order of St. Francis de Paula, who had crossed the Atlantic with them, remained in Baltimore.[1]

In 1792 Mother Mary de la Marche, Abbess of St. Clare, Mother Celeste la Blonde de la Rochefoucault, and Mother de St. Luc, Poor Clares, attended by a lay brother, sought an asylum in Maryland. They apparently attempted at first to establish a house at Frederick, but in 1801 purchased of John Threlkeld a lot on Lafayette Street, Georgetown, where they opened an Academy, but on the death of the Abbess in 1805 the other Sisters returned to Europe.[2]

In 1801 there were monks from Mount St. Bernard and Mount St. Gothard in Boston.[3]

tion of a Preface and a few notes." Philadelphia: Johnston & Justice, 1792, pp. 58.

[1] Bishop Carroll to Bishop of Quebec, January 15, 1794, April 24, 1795.

[2] De Courcy, "Catholic Church in the United States," New York, 1856, p. 79. The Mother Abbess was interred in the Cemetery of the Sulpitians at Baltimore.

[3] Rev. F. A. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, September 10, 1801.

In the autumn of 1794 Bishop Carroll visited Philadelphia, and we find him performing a marriage at St. Joseph's on the 23d of October.[1] But about the middle of December he was stricken down by a serious fit of illness, and for more than two months could do nothing for himself, and was not able to say mass; even late in February, after a slight recovery, he had a relapse, and could barely pen a few lines to the pious Carmelites, thanking them for a share in their prayers. "No one can stand in greater need of it,—habitually, I may say, but lately in particular."[2] As summer came on he went to Georgetown to recover from the effects of his long illness by the country air and gentle exercise.[3]

Bishop Carroll in 1795 was at the head of a movement to establish a public library in Baltimore, and the Library Company which he was active in organizing formed a fine collection of books, many of which are still preserved on the shelves of the Maryland Historical Society, to attest the love of learning and public spirit of the first Catholic Bishop of the United States. The Rev. Mr. Périgny, a French priest and Doctor of the Sorbonne, who attended Carroll's Manor, was the first Librarian.[4] Bishop Carroll was also active in the formation of "The Maryland Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge," organized in 1800.[5]

When the death of the Rev. Lawrence Graessel, Bishop-elect, was made known to the Holy See, Dr. Carroll was requested to make another selection. This time the choice fell on the Rev. Leonard Neale, whose zeal, sanctity, and experience commanded universal respect. The nomination was

[1] Bishop Carroll to the Mother Superior, February 20, 1795.

[2] Same to Archbishop Troy, June 22, 1795.

[3] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise." [4] Register, cited in W. L., iii., p. 101.

[5] Scharf, pp. 277, 291.

pleasing to the Sovereign Pontiff, who, on the 17th of April, 1795, issued Bulls appointing him Bishop of Gortyna and coadjutor of Baltimore. These Bulls were expedited through the "Congregation de Propaganda Fide," and forwarded by some devious route, the French revolution making it impossible to transmit them through the Nuncio at Paris, as on the former occasion. Bishop Carroll waited month after month for any tidings of the missing documents, but they never came to his hands.

Meanwhile the coadjutor-elect was laboring with all zeal in Philadelphia, with power as Vicar-General. The yellow fever, which renewed its ravages in 1797 and the following year, afforded the Catholic clergy another occasion to display their heroic devotedness. Two priests died of the terrible disease in that city in 1798: they were the Rev. Michael Ennis and the Rev. Joseph la Grange, and before the close of the next year another priest, stationed at St. Mary's, the Rev. John Burke, was also called from this world. During the yellow fever of 1798, two hundred and seventy-six persons were interred in the two Catholic cemeteries—St. Mary's for all who did not speak German, and Holy Trinity for those who did. This was not the whole Catholic loss, as many doubtless found a final resting-place in the ground allotted for the poor.

Many of the victims of the scourge left behind them helpless young children, whose bereaved state appealed to the charity of the faithful. An association was formed to shelter and support these orphans, who were first placed in a house on the west side of Sixth Street, adjoining the Church of the Holy Trinity. This little Orphans' Home became in time St. Joseph's Catholic Orphan Asylum.[1]

[1] Westcott, "A History of Philadelphia," ch. cccixv.

Amid all the cares and duties of his position at Philadelphia, the Rev. Leonard Neale never lost that interior spirit which made him a master of spiritual life and an able director of souls in the way of perfection. Among those who sought his counsel was Miss Alice Lalor, a native of Queen's County, Ireland, who came to Philadelphia with her parents in 1797. She had long desired to enter the religious life, and had promised Bishop Lanigan of Ossory to return to Ireland in two years in order to enter a convent in his diocese. The Rev. Mr. Neale found in her a soul so gifted that he felt convinced she was the instrument sent by Providence to found a religious community such as he had long desired to establish in Philadelphia. Two other ladies joined her, and they opened an academy for the instruction of young persons of their own sex. Before their establishment had been solidly established the yellow fever broke out, and Miss Lalor beheld her two companions sink as victims to its violence. The project of a community in Philadelphia was thus defeated.

In 1799 Bishop Carroll was reluctantly compelled to withdraw Rev. Mr. Neale from that city. Georgetown College, which had for some years been directed by the Rev. William Du Bourg as President, now required a priest of learning and ability to succeed him. No one seemed to possess the qualifications necessary except Rev. Leonard Neale, who, at the Bishop's desire, became President of Georgetown College.

Miss Lalor, with a companion who had joined her, also proceeded to that city, and they became teachers in the Academy of the Poor Clares. As that community was evidently not to remain in the country, their director advised them to open a school independently. A third lady from Philadelphia soon joined them, bringing a dowry, part of which was employed in the purchase of a house, which stood in the grounds of the present convent.

These pious ladies had as yet no rule, except the temporary one given by their director. He was greatly in favor of the rule of the Visitation Nuns, founded by Saint Jane Frances de Chantal, under the guidance of Saint Francis de Sales. In the dearth of Catholic books in this country at that time no copy of the rule of that institute could be found, until at last a happy discovery of a copy was made in the library of the Poor Clares. The perusal of the Rules and Constitution of the Visitation confirmed Miss Lalor and her associates, as well as their director, in the wish to adopt it. The Rev. Mr. Neale endeavored to obtain a few nuns of that order from Europe to found a community in America and form his penitents to the spirit and practice of the rule of the holy Bishop of Geneva: but he failed in every attempt. Difficulties arose here also. Some of the faint-hearted deplored the attempt to found another convent, and figured to their minds all terrors from Protestant prejudice. Bishop Carroll himself thought that his coadjutor-elect would act more wisely by sending Miss Lalor and her companions to join the Carmelites at Port Tobacco. A lady of means tempted them by offering to go to Ireland to obtain a colony of Ursuline Nuns, if they would agree to enter that order; but the "Pious Ladies," as they were known, felt called to be Visitation Nuns, and they awaited in loving patience the workings of Divine Providence, who, they felt, would in His own good time give the means to do His will.[1]

On the 17th of December, 1795, Bishop Carroll ordained to the priesthood the Rev. John Floyd, a native of England, who had been drawn to the Church by the narrative of Thayer's conversion, and by his advice had entered the Sem-

[1] De Courcy, "Catholic Church in the United States," New York, 1856, pp. 79–82.

inary of St. Sulpice at Paris. He came to the United States with Rev. Mr. Nagot, and had been with Rev. Mr. Garnier as a catechist at Fell's Point. The Bishop placed him in charge of that mission, and the zealous priest undertook his duty with zeal and energy. The congregation was poor, but inspired by him they leased a lot on Apple Alley, near Wilks Street, and here Rev. Mr. Floyd erected St. Patrick's church, a modest structure thirty-five feet wide by forty-two deep. It was to a great extent reared by the voluntary work of the men of the congregation, who brought more good-will than mechanical skill; and the little church which stood at a distance from the street, beyond a court lined with tall poplars, was from the first frail and insecure, but it afforded great consolation to the Catholics of that portion of Baltimore. As parish priest the Rev. Mr. Floyd was untiring, ever fulfilling all his duties at the church, and prompt in answering every call; he was also constantly seeking out Catholics who had grown lax in their faith or the practice of their religion; and, poor himself, was ever soliciting aid for some destitute person whose miseries his zealous eye had detected. After offering the holy sacrifice on Sunday, September 4, 1797, the Rev. Mr. Floyd was told that a person dying of yellow fever required his services. Still fasting, he hastened to the bedside of the sufferer, whom he prepared for a Christian end. When he returned and sat down to take some nourishment, he was stricken down with the fatal disease. He was removed to the house of Bishop Carroll, and though every effort was made to save him, he expired on the following Thursday, in the 29th year of his age, after exhibiting in his brief priestly career every high quality that can ennoble a minister of God.[1]

[1] He was buried, as he had requested, before the door of the church,

The Rev. Mr. Garnier resumed the charge of the little flock, his great learning and talents, which in time raised him to the position of Superior-General of the Society of St. Sulpice, being combined with tender piety and a deep humility, that made him cling with holy joy to the mission work among the poor. He relinquished the care of St. Patrick's in 1803 to the Rev. Michael Cuddy, who, after a course at Georgetown and St. Mary's, had been raised to the priesthood by Bishop Carroll, and appointed first resident pastor of the church at Fell's Point. Like Rev. Mr. Floyd he died a victim of charity; rivalling him in zeal and devotedness, he, too, took the yellow fever while attending the sick, and died on the 5th of October, 1804.[1]

A matter of deep and serious import soon demanded the action of Bishop Carroll. Hitherto the Catholics in all parts and of all origins, had been simply Catholics; now, however, the question of nationality arose, and some were found who no longer wished to worship beside their fellow-Catholics, but insisted on having a separate church and priest especially to themselves.

The Rev. J. C. Helbron had done so much to foment this schismatic spirit in Philadelphia, that Dr. Carroll, when he went to Europe to be consecrated Bishop, requested the Superior of that religious to recall him; but such representations were made at Rome, that to avoid greater difficulties, Bishop Carroll finally consented to the organization of Trinity Church, and in August, 1791, appointed Rev. P. Helbron to be the first pastor. Many of the German Catholics of Philadelphia had been averse to the scheme of a separate

but Mrs. Barry, a personal friend of Bishop Carroll, erected a tablet to commemorate the devoted priest. Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," etc.

[1] B. U. Campbell, "Desultory Sketches of the Catholic Church in Maryland"; "U. S. Cath. Mag." i., pp. 394–6; Hiltermann, "Mittheilungen."

church, but when once the church was open, a considerable number began to attend it. Before long another German priest, Rev. John Nepomucene Goetz, arrived, with such testimonials that Bishop Carroll received him into his diocese, and in 1796 made him assistant priest at the Church of the Holy Trinity. No sooner was he there, than he intrigued to supplant Father Helbron, so adroitly that the trustees carrying their schismatic usurpations further, ordered their lawful pastor to leave, threatening him with legal prosecution if he did not. In defiance of the Bishop they elected Goetz pastor of the church.[1] Father Helbron retired with the sound portion of the congregation to St. Joseph's. Goetz was threatened with suspension if he attempted to act under the appointment of the trustees; yet he persisted and his faculties were at once withdrawn by the Bishop.[2] But he disregarded all authority and continued to officiate with another priest named Elling, till he was formally excommunicated. Even then the trustees refused to yield; they rejected the authority of the Pope "as of a foreign jurisdiction."[3]

Bishop Carroll visited Philadelphia to endeavor, if possible, to arrest these excesses, but he had scarcely arrived before he was served with a writ, and brought into court like a criminal, there to hear from the lawyers of the schismatics'

[1] "After this," says Bishop Carroll, "the intruder received from the same Trustees a pretended appointment to the pastoral office, that is, the power of loosening and binding; of administering the Holy Eucharist to the faithful of God's church; of teaching and preaching, and performing all those duties which being in their nature entirely spiritual, can never be within the jurisdiction of, or subject to the dispensation of the laity, but were committed by Christ to the Apostles alone, and to their successors in the government of their respective churches."—"Pastoral to the Congregation of Trinity Church," p. 3.

[2] Letter of Very Rev. Leonard Neale to Right Rev. John Carroll.

[3] Pastoral Letter, p. 5.

church, as he himself states, the foulest abuse of the Catholic Church, its laws, doctrine, pastors, government, the Pope, the Council of Trent, etc., as if they had ransacked all Protestant libraries to defame it. The trustees sat complacently by doing nothing to check the torrent of invective, while their counsel in their behalf denied that Dr. Carroll was their bishop, and maintained that Trinity Church was out of his jurisdiction, that he was merely bishop of other nationalities![1] These misguided men persisted for some years in their wicked course, although Bishop Carroll on the 22d of February, 1797, addressed a pastoral letter to the congregation of Trinity Church, so full of Christian charity, and so convincing in its exposition of Catholic doctrine and discipline, that one of his successors, in a similar crisis reprinted it, as the clearest and most perfect exposition of what the Church required of her children.[2] But his words at the time fell unheeded. The men who had broken the bond of Catholic unity, to set up a national church, claimed for it independence of any but a Bishop of their own nationality,[3] and as against any and all

[1] Right Rev. John Carroll to J. Oellers, one of the schismatics, November 19, 1801.

[2] "John, by the Grace of God, and with the approbation of the Holy See, Bishop of Baltimore, to my beloved Brethren, of the Congregation of Trinity Church, Philadelphia," Baltimore, February 22, 1797. 8 pp., 4to. Printed by J. Hayes.

[3] Bishop Carroll, addressing the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, wrote: "If any action is taken to divide this most vast diocese, I would hear with great pleasure that this had been done by the Holy See, as I desired it done in my letters in 1792: and it was my purpose to solicit it as soon as I was sure of having a coadjutor to succeed me in this see. It will, however, be for you in your wisdom to decide whether this can be done safely now, while these commotions lessen ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For I solemnly aver that those who excite these troubles maintained in my presence by their lawyers in a public tribunal, and upheld with all their might, that all distinction between order and jurisdiction was arbitrary and fictitious; that all right to exercise ecclesiastical ministry was derived

bishops, claimed the right of commissioning priests to offer the holy sacrifice and grant absolution in the tribunal of penance. The schism and rebellion at Trinity Church continued, and it was not until 1802 that the trustees or the rector, Rev. Mr. Elling, who had joined the schismatics, yielded to Bishop Carroll, and acknowledged that they were subject to the Bishop of Baltimore. The people had grown weary of the condition in which the factious priests had placed them, but Rev. Mr. Elling hesitated about announcing that they must rectify their consciences, after having employed his ministry when he was suspended.

The Bishop wrote to the clergyman: "Recollect, I beseech you, the doctrine you imbibed, the principles you brought from Rome, and you must admit this as a necessary condition, with which it exceeds my power to dispense. This duty may be performed as privately as possible, but it must be performed. It becomes you in a special manner to encourage it; and I trust in God that your doing it, will be accepted by Almighty God, as a satisfaction for every irregularity heretofore committed. The sooner you do it, the greater will be the benefit to those who rely on you. Consummate, my dear Sir, the sacrifice you owe to God, and example to his church, and especially to the flock, which is to be committed to your charge. Every day of delay increases

from the people; and that the bishop had no power except to impose hands on the person whom the people presented as their chosen minister; or to inquire whether hands had been previously imposed on him. Then they deny that they are or ever have been subject to my episcopal authority; and when the words of the Pope's brief were shown them, in which all the faithful in the United States are subjected in spiritual government to the bishop, they impudently dared to assail the brief as imposing a yoke on them contrary to the American laws. And yet these are the men who are now sending an agent to the Holy See to obtain what had never before been granted."

the difficulty and multiplies offences. Dishonor springs from perseverance in a wrong course, and not from a retractation of error or misconduct. Your own conscience is involved, as well as that of others, and you must surely wish ardently for the moment of restoring tranquillity to your mind. How joyfully will I meet you when this is done, and with how much pleasure will we discourse, at your intended visit, on your proposal for the extension of the true faith."

Elling yielded, and was appointed by the Bishop to Trinity Church, and the Trustees put an end to the schism by the following document:

"We the Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia, Do hereby acknowledge for ourselves, and our constituents, members worshipping in the said church, that we hold ourselves subject to the Episcopal authority, and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore for the time being, and according to the tenor of the Brief of his Holiness of pious memory, Pius sixth, for the erection of the Episcopal See of Baltimore, and we promise to yield true obedience to the said Bishop conformably to the powers lawfully vested in him.

"In witness whereof, the said Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia have set their hands and caused the seal of their Corporation to be affixed this 29th day of January, Anno Domini 1802.

"James Oellers, Adam Premir, Charles Boreman, Balthazar × Kneil, Georgius Waltmor, Mathias Knebel, Johan Conrad."[1]

[1] It was a curious illustration of the impolicy of separate churches in this country that when Father Adam Britt, S.J., was sent to the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1807, many of the congregation no longer knew

Before this was done similar trouble arose in Baltimore; a priest, placed at the pro-cathedral to take charge of the Germans, urged them to demand a separate church. So little were the German Catholics able to maintain a church and pastor that Father Reuter, after a year's trial, finding that the congregation could not support him, returned to Germany. Making his way to Rome he brought the most false and absurd charges against Bishop Carroll, saying that he would not permit the German Catholics to be instructed in their own language, and that he excommunicated those who preached in German.[1] Bishop Carroll, then about to commence his own cathedral, declined to permit a step in Baltimore which had proved so prejudicial in Philadelphia, more especially as there were not thirty Germans in Baltimore who did not speak English, and their children all were more familiar with English than with German. Father Reuter returned, pretending to have powers from the Holy See to erect a church which was to be independent of the Bishop. He made common cause with the excommunicated priests in Philadelphia and got up a petition to the Holy See to erect a German diocese in the United States for Catholics of that language. Bishop Carroll suspended him, but in a visit to Europe Father Reuter obtained a release from the censures, though he was forbidden to return to the United States. Meanwhile the Germans had gone on and built St. John's church, and though Dr. Carroll refused to give Reuter faculties, the trustees plunged into schism: they defied the Bishop, forcibly prevented his entrance into the church, and elected Reuter pastor.

German enough to make their confessions in that language, and he did not know English enough to hear them in it.—F. Kohlmann to F. Strickland, February 23, 1807.

[1] Archbishop Brancadoro to Bishop Carroll, April 23, 1798.

At one time Rev. Mr. Reuter showed a disposition to submit, and Bishop Carroll wrote him November 19, 1801, that he would judge of his sincere disposition to do right after he had admitted in writing: "1. That he recognizes no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the diocese of Baltimore except that of the Sovereign Pontiff and that of the ordinary. 2. That all Catholics in the diocese, of whatever nation, are subject to that authority. 3. That no priest can, without the approbation of said authority, exercise any function of the ministry in said diocese, or beyond the limits prescribed by the bishop."

But after the trustees, headed by Shorb, prevented Bishop Carroll from entering St. John's church, on the 15th of January, 1804, he wrote them that as they felt no shame or remorse for the scandalous breach of divine and ecclesiastical institutions, he considered it highly improper to listen to any proposals from them till they offered reparation for the grievous misconduct of which they had been the authors or principal instruments.

He summoned Father Reuter to appear before him on the 19th to make satisfaction for his public and notorious violation of pontifical and episcopal jurisdiction.[1]

Bishop Carroll resolved to settle the question forever in the courts, and appointing as pastor the Rev. F. X. Brosius, a learned German priest, who had accompanied Prince Gallitzin to America, obtained a writ of mandamus to compel the trustees to receive him. In their return to the writ, Reuter and his trustees set up that by the fundamental laws, usages, and canons of the German Catholic Church, the members of the church "had the sole and exclusive right of nominating and appointing their pastor, and that no other person whether

[1] Bishop Carroll to J Shorb, etc., January 16, 1804.

Bishop or Pope have a right to appoint a pastor without the assent and approbation of the congregation or a majority of the same"; they also set up the defence that they had put the church under the control of "Minorits Conventuals of the order of St. Francis," and that "Reuter and the Church owed obedience to the civil magistrate and to that order, and to no other ecclesiastical person or body whatever." They could, of course, cite no canons or rules of the Catholic Church to justify their action, and the General Court, after a full argument of the case, decided against them in May, 1805.[1]

After perusing this saddening episode, which, however, may not be without its lessons, it will console the reader to consider the progress of the Church in other parts.

Not long after Bishop Carroll's return to his diocese, a single priest of the Augustinian order in Ireland, Rev. John Rosseter, arrived in the Republic, whose independence he had helped to establish, for he had been an officer in Rochambeau's army here during the Revolutionary War, but returning to Europe, entered the Augustinian order, and was once more on our soil, to fight battles no less glorious. He was welcomed by Bishop Carroll, who stationed him about thirty miles from Philadelphia, apparently at Wilmington in Delaware. In 1795 he was followed by the Rev. Matthew Carr from St. Augustine's convent in John Street, Dublin, but educated at Paris and Bordeaux, who came purposely to found a church and house of the Hermits of St. Augustine in this country. He was accompanied or followed by the Rev. Michael Ennis, a priest friendly to the order, who was stationed at St. Mary's, Philadelphia. In the summer offers of a site at Wilmington and of means to begin

[1] Papers of the suit in my hands.

erecting a church were made. This project, however, led to no definite results, and as early as July 11, 1796, the Augustinian Fathers obtained the deed of a plot of ground on Fourth Street, Philadelphia, below Vine Street, seventy-five feet front by one hundred and seventy-five in depth. Here the corner-stone of the Church of St. Augustine was laid in September. A liberal subscription was opened, in which General Washington and many other Protestants appeared as contributors.[1]



SIGNATURE OF REV. MATTHEW CARR, O.S.A.

Bishop Carroll encouraged the establishment of a province of the order of St. Augustine; and he directed the attention of the pioneer priests of that order to the West. "I wished, indeed, that they would have directed their views for an establishment towards our great western country, on and contiguous to the river Ohio, because if able and apostolical men could be obtained to enter on that field, it seems to me that it would become a most flourishing portion of the Church of Christ, and there the means of future subsistence may be secured now, for a very trifling consideration. I have made known to them my opinion, leaving them, however, at full liberty to determine for themselves, and Philadelphia seems

[1] Battersby, "History of all the Abbeys, Convents, Churches, etc., of the Hermits of St. Augustine in Ireland," Dublin, 1856, p. 75; Thompson Westcott, "A Memoir of the Very Rev. Michael Hurley, D.D., O.S.A.," in Records of "A. C. Hist. Soc.," i., pp. 166–7; same, "A History of Philadelphia"; Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy, June 22, 1795; Archbishop Troy to Bishop Carroll, August 13, 1796; Rev. Michael Ennis to the Prior of San Mateo, Rome, September 4, December 8 1795.

now to be the place of their choice, quod felix faustumque sit."[1]

Father Carr applied to Rome for the necessary authority to establish convents of his order in the diocese of Baltimore, and an indult to that effect was granted May 27, 1797, to take effect only with the approbation and permission of Bishop Carroll. This was readily given and the Augustinian community in the United States was erected into a province under the title of "The Blessed Virgin of Good Counsel," and the Rev. Father Matthew Carr was named Vicar-General of the Province and Superior of the Mission.[2]

It was the first attempt of Regulars from Ireland to establish filiations in this country, and strangely enough the only one till the Trappists founded New Melleray.

Father Carr was a man of learning and ability; his eloquence in the pulpit made him remarkably attractive and popular in those days, but he was not calculated to build up a religious community. His habits were so ill-suited to convent life, that his fellow-religious soon asked Bishop Carroll to give them mission-work in other fields.

The Superior, however, stationed at St. Mary's kept on with his work, though it progressed slowly, and a lottery was resorted to before the necessary funds were obtained. The church, a plain, unadorned building, was at last dedicated June 7, 1801.[3]

In Pennsylvania, Lancaster was attended from 1789 to 1791 by Rev. John Charles Helbron; he was succeeded by Rev. William Elling, already alluded to. This clergyman

[1] Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy, May 25, 1796.

[2] Cardinal Gerdil, Prefect of the Propaganda, to Bishop Carroll, May 27, 1797.

[3] Thompson Westcott, "A History of Philadelphia."

attended Donegal, Harrisburg, and Lebanon one Sunday in each month, giving the fifth, when there happened to be one, to Chester County. In Lancaster alone he had two hundred and fifty communicants. In 1792 he accepted the mission of Goshenhoppen offered him by Bishop Carroll, and was succeeded at Lancaster by the zealous priest, Rev. P. Erntzen. Rev. Mr. Elling, a restless, dissatisfied man, complained loudly of Lancaster, declaring that the people did very little for their priest, that the church and priest's house were very much out of repair. He left in 1793 and went to New York.[1]

Others did not represent the condition at Lancaster so badly. Rev. Mr. Dilhet, who had seen alike the noble churches of Europe and the rough chapels of the West, describes the church as "very fine," the priest's house "elegant and very convenient with a garden."[2]

The Rev. Francis Fitzsimons was in Lancaster in 1803–4, offering the holy sacrifice twice a month in that town, once a month in Elizabethtown and Lebanon, once every three months at Chester, Little Britain, Coleman's Furnace, and in Mr. Maguire's house at Doe Run. At each of these more remote stations he spent two days. Besides these places he attended the county poor-house, which had thirty Catholic inmates. In his whole district he computed his communicants at one thousand. The missions, except at Lebanon and Coleman's Furnace, were supplied with vestments and chalices. He was apparently a zealous, hard-working priest, but perhaps somewhat severe, and relinquished the mission the next year to return to Europe with Lord Selkirk, with whom he had come over.[3]

[1] Rev. Wm. Elling to Bishop Carroll, December 8, 1791; August 27, 1792.

[2] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique."

[3] Rev. Francis Fitzsimons, Lancaster, February 15, May 19, 1804.

Religion in that district, of course, suffered by these frequent changes in the ministry, which continued for several years till the Rev. Louis de Barth de Walbach, brother of the general of that name, revived the faith of the people, and during a long pastorship trained his flock to the faithful discharge of all their duties as Catholics and citizens.[1]

Religion in New York received its first successful impulse on the appointment of the Dominican Father, William O'Brien, who began his ministry in Philadelphia, and evidently made some visits to New Jersey, as we find him at Burlington in 1787. To complete St. Peter's church, he went to Mexico, where, through the influence of Archbishop Haro, with whom he had been a fellow-student, he obtained from the charitable of that country aid in money, and several valuable paintings and other objects for the adornment of the church.

During his absence the Rev. Nicholas Bourke seems to have officiated at St. Peter's.[2] The yellow fever which ravaged New York for several years, especially in 1795 and 1798, afforded Father O'Brien a new field for his zeal and charity. His services in attending the sick were the theme of general praise.[3] He was a man of learning and wrote a Life of St. Paul, which was announced but never appeared.[4] He restored order and harmony to the Catholic body in New York, and was a most efficient auxiliary to Bishop Carroll, who employed him in several delicate matters. He conse-

[1] S. M. Sener in "U. S. Cath. Historical Magazine," i., pp. 215–216.

[2] "New York Directory," 1791–2, 1792–3. He was drowned in a river while travelling in February, 1800. Ordo 1801.

[3] Hardie, "Account of the Malignant Fever," 1799; same, 1805, p. 191.

[4] "New York Packet," February 22 1788.

quently incurred the wrath of men like Smyth and La Poterie.

By the resources which he collected the interior of the church was completed and the pews offered for sale in the spring of 1794.[1] His labors began to tell on the zealous Dominican, and the assistance of a second priest was clearly required; but the trustees vacillated, sometimes asking for a second priest, sometimes protesting their inability to support one.[2] In 1800 the church was burthened with a debt of $6,500, and the annual income from pew rents and collections was about $1,500; the expenses, including interest, about $1,400.[3]

The next year the pastor received as assistant a fellow-Dominican, Rev. Matthew O'Brien, a man of learning and eloquence. The congregation had increased greatly, so that steps were taken to complete the church by erecting a steeple; an organ had been procured; regular instructions were given in catechism, and a charity school was undertaken. The Catholics of New York were already discussing the erection of a second church.[4]

The Order of St. Dominic had sent several Fathers to this country, like Rev. William O'Brien, Francis A. Fleming, Vincent Keating, but it was not till 1803 that any definite organization here was attempted. At that time the Rev. Edward Fenwick, an American member of the English province of the Friars Preachers, submitted to Bishop Carroll,

[1] Notice, April 16, 1794.

[2] Rev. Anthony McMahon, O.S.D., was in New York in 1800 and died there in July. Ordo 1801.

[3] Trustees to Bishop Carroll, January 10, 1800.

[4] Rev. Mr. O'Brien to Bishop Carroll, January 5, 1801; November 16, 1801.

through Father Luke Concanen, a plan for establishing a convent or college in the United States.[1]

Toward the month of October, 1790, the Rev. Peter Huet de la Valinière returned from the West and took up his abode among the Canadians and Acadians, who had settled at Split Rock, near the present village of Essex, N. Y.[2] These unfortunate people at first manifested great zeal and devotedness for their pastor. They built him a chapel and residence, and gave him his maintenance: here he remained three years, but in the meantime dissensions grew up between the priest and his flock. His church and house were set on fire and burned to the ground;[3] and the Rev. Mr. La Valinière returned to Montreal, where the English government offered no objection to his remaining.

During his troubled days at Split Rock he composed a poetical account, entitled "A true History or simple Sketch of the Misfortunes, not to say Persecutions, which the Rev. Peter Huet de la Valinière has suffered and still suffers. Put in verse by himself, July, 1792."[4]

[1] F. Richard Luke Concanen to Bishop Carroll, Rome, December 20, 1808.

[2] Letter of Rev. J. T. Smith, Historian of the Diocese of Ogdensburg.

[3] Mgr. J. O. Plessis, "Relation d'un Voyage aux Etats Unis en 1815," which I owe to the Rev. J. Sasseville.

[4] "Vraie Histoire ou simple Précis des Infortunes, pour ne pas dire des persecutions, qu'a souffert et souffre encore le Rév. Pierre Huet de la Valiniere, mis en vers par lui même en Juillet, 1792. A Albany, Imprimé aux dépens de l'auteur." De Courcy, "Catholic Church in the United States," New York, 1856, p. 460. He also published at New York in 1790, "Dialogue Curieux et Interessant, entre Mr. Bondesir et le Dr. Breviloq, en Français et en Anglais," a kind of polemical Catechism in which the printers strangely protestantized his English. He describes himself on the title as "having suffered great persecutions for the cause of America, in the last war, and having been obliged to take refuge in the United States." This good but strange and restless priest came to Canada in 1755 with the famous Abbé Picquet. He rescued

Had he possessed judgment and discretion as well as piety and learning this priest might have rendered great service to religion in this country, and been one of the most potent auxiliaries of Bishop Carroll. As it was, he was a mere will-o'-the-wisp, flashing here and there, giving but fitful and unsteady light.

In New York, Catholics had begun to settle at Albany and along the line of the Mohawk. After leaving New York the Rev. Mr. Whelan was for a time at Johnstown in the year 1790. A few years later a Rev. Mr. Flinn had a little flock of seventy Catholic families at Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk, and it was said that there were four hundred Catholic families between that place and Albany.[1]

Flying visits seem to have been made to Albany by Rev. Dr. Matthew O'Brien and other priests, and in 1798 the Catholics there organized, and led by Thomas Barry and Louis le Couteulx, resolved to take steps to erect a church. A site was soon secured and the building began on Barrack, now Chapel Street. The corner-stone was laid by Mr. Thomas Barry, Sept. 13, 1797. The church was under roof, glazed, and floored early in September, and is described as "a neat building, which will be an ornament to the city and a lasting blessing to all who are members in communion of that church."[2]

from the stake a Mrs. O'Flaherty and her daughter; paid for the education of the child and for her profession when she became a Sister in Mme. d'Youville's community. "Vie de Madame d'Youville," pp. 213, 441. He was driven from Canada at the commencement of the Revolution for his sympathy with the Americans; labored in New York, Philadelphia, Illinois; went to New Orleans, Havana, Florida, Charleston, Stonington, New York, Montreal, Split Rock, N. Y., and was killed at Repentigny, Canada, June 29, 1806, by falling from a wagon.

[1] Rev. Dr. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, July 23, 1798.

[2] "Albany Gazette," cited in De Courcy, "Catholic Church in the United States," New York, 1856, p. 469. Munsell's Annals, p. 179.

The appeal to the Catholic community says: "Such of our Catholic brethren in this neighborhood as have not already contributed, it is hoped will now come forward and offer their mite to discharge the last payment of the contract, there being but a small sum in hand for that purpose. To give to the Church is it not to lend to the Lord, who will richly repay the liberal giver with many blessings? Should not all the members unitedly raise their voices in praise to God, who has cast their lot in this good land, where our



FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ALBANY, N. Y

Church is equally protected with others, and where we all so bountifully partake of his goodness? What is man without religion, which teaches us the love of God and our neighbor and to be in charity with all mankind? Surely without this he is nothing."

The corner-stone of this first Catholic church in Albany is sacredly preserved; and is now set in the wall of St. Mary's Church.

In 1799 the trustees, hearing that Dr. O'Brien had been appointed to Natchez, wrote earnestly to Bishop Carroll on

the 10th of November, imploring the Bishop to allow him to continue his ministrations among them. Their letter was accompanied by a petition from the congregation signed by a large number.[1] But he left them abruptly the next year, and the congregation asked to have the Rev. Mr. Stafford, a priest recently arrived from Ireland.[2] It does not appear, however, that he took charge of the mission. In 1802 the Rev. Dr. Cornelius Mahony was stationed at Albany, and attended Schenectady among other stations. Complaints of harsh and arbitrary conduct on his part soon reached Dr. Carroll.[3]

The next incumbent was Rev. Luke Fitzsimmons, a Recollect Father invited from Montreal, but who did not long remain, failing to please the people, as he was no "preacher." In 1806 the Rev. John Byrne visited Albany and in a few months seems to have done a great deal of good. He promised to visit them twice a year if the people would go to work and complete the church.

Here as elsewhere the trustees looked only to the preaching, concerning themselves little about the zeal of the priest in the confessional, in visiting the sick, in attending outlying stations. As Albany was the seat of government and high State officials visited the church, these trustees wished a man

[1] It is dated November 10, 1799. Among the signers are Barry, Le Couteulx, Richard Allanson, James Cassidy, Patrick Reilly. Barry went to Canada to collect for the church in Albany Bishop Hubert encouraged him, and in a circular letter of March 4, 1797, commended him to the parish priests of his diocese. "Mandements des Evêques de Quebec," Quebec, 1887–8, ii., p. 502.

[2] Trustees of Albany to Bishop Carroll, November 16, 1800. They state that they paid Rev. Matthew O'Brien £280 between November, 1798, and June, 1800, which gives a clue to the duration of his ministry.

[3] Trustees of Albany to Bishop Carroll, November, 1802; Rev. Dr. Mahony to Bishop Carroll, February 7, 1803, January, 1804.

who could by his eloquence in the pulpit impress such visitors favorably.[1]

The trustees were generally men active and influential in politics and in civil life, with little conception of the duties of a priest, and little regard for the rules of the Church, whose sacraments they rarely approached. Priests found it impossible to discharge their duties conscientiously, when hampered at every step by such men.

The Rev. James M. Bushe became a few years after resident pastor at Albany, where he seems to have died about 1808, leaving the church there once more without a priest. This was all the more to be deplored, as the Catholics of Albany, in this constant change of priests, were overlooked and neglected.

Catholicity in New England took its first genuine impulse on the arrival of the Rev. Francis A. Matignon. Though devoted and earnest, Rev. Mr. Thayer was not fitted to guide a congregation or win the general esteem. Doctor Matignon, a priest of experience, having taught theology in the College of Navarre, with experience among English-speaking Catholics, came to devote his learning, his ability, his eloquence, as well as his deep piety and wide charity to the little flock of Catholics in New England. He soon disarmed all opposition, and by his unfailing and winning courtesy was enabled to effect great good. The Rev. Mr. Ciquard proceeded to the Indians, and Dr. Matignon labored alone at Boston, visiting other points where possible, till Rev. John Cheverus, whom he had invited from England, arrived in that city, October 3, 1796, to his great joy. Bishop Carroll, on learning of the new arrival, and rejoicing to receive a priest so highly recommended, appointed him to the Indian

[1] Trustees of Albany to Bishop Carroll, August 16, 1806.

mission in Maine, from which the Rev. Mr. Ciquard wished to retire. "Send me where you think I am most needed without making yourself anxious about the means of supporting me. I am willing to work with my hands, if need be, and I believe I have strength enough to do it," was the reply of Cheverus.

But the pastor of the church at Boston, who saw his work increasing beyond his strength, pleaded with the Bishop to be allowed to retain Rev. Mr. Cheverus, at least till the following autumn. He was indeed permitted to enjoy his companionship in the ministry till July, 1797, when Rev. Mr. Cheverus set out for his mission. In this interval he visited Plymouth and Newburyport. From the reported Easter communions in 1798, we get some idea of the Catholic flock in Massachusetts. There were 210 Catholics in Boston, 15 in Plymouth, 21 in Newburyport, and 3 in Salem, a total of 249.[1]

On his way to his mission Rev. Mr. Cheverus visited scattered Catholics between Boston and the Penobscot. He reached Point Pleasant, July 30, 1797, and took possession of his bark house and church. The latter was lighted only by the door, and the altar-piece was formed of two pieces of red and blue cloth. He was, however, assured of some support, the General Court of Massachusetts having appropriated two hundred dollars a year for a Catholic missionary, who was to reside alternately at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy.[2]

[1] Rev. Dr. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, Boston, February 24, 1797; May 1, 1798. He gives the returns for the year ending April 1, 1798, as follows: 50 children, 7 adults baptized in Boston; 30 children and 1 adult elsewhere; 13 Indian children; in all, 101. There had been 17 marriages and 14 deaths. The Catholics in Boston were estimated at six or seven hundred.

[2] Rev. Dr. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, July 23, 1798.

Guided by some of his Indian flock he visited Old Town on the Penobscot in June, 1798. Here, too, he found a bark chapel, but no vestments or plate; a crucifix and one or two statues, with the bell, hanging from a neighboring post, being all that remained.

Mr. Cheverus found much to touch him in the firmness with which these children of the forest had clung to the faith taught to their ancestors by the Catholic priests from Canada. "The Penobscot tribe," he wrote, "is composed of about 300 individuals, including women and children, while at Passamaquoddy there were hardly 150. The women, in general, are good, but the men are mostly addicted to drinking, less, however, at Passamaquoddy than at Penobscot."[1]

Having put these missions in some order, he proceeded to Damariscotta Bridge, where seven Catholic families had settled. Here he said mass in the barn of the Hon. Matthew Cottrill.[2] After his return to Boston, he there, with the Rev. Dr. Matignon, exhibited, in the yellow fever of 1798, a picture of heroic courage and devotedness that filled all men with admiration. It was a new lesson to see Catholic priests fearlessly facing the most dreadful pestilence.

They were not the only priests in New England. Thayer had officiated at Hartford in 1790, and in 1797 the Rev. John Ambrose Songé, canon and theologal of Dol, resided there as chaplain to Vicomte de Sibert Cornillon, with faculties from

[1] Rev. John Cheverus to Bishop Carroll, February 17, 1799.

[2] Hamon, "Vie du Cardinal de Cheverus," Paris, 1858, pp. 43–76; Walsh, "Life of the Cardinal de Cheverus," translation, Philadelphia, 1839, pp. 47, etc.; Stewart, "The Life of Cardinal Cheverus," translation, Boston, 1839, pp. 39, etc.; Fitton, "Sketches of the Establishment of the Church in New England," Boston, 1872, pp. 100–103. The matter from pages 34–62 in this latter work is copied from articles by me in the "Boston Pilot."

Bishop Carroll, and was joined by another priest, the Rev. Mr. Tisserant.[1]

New England had as yet nothing that could properly be called a church. The building on School Street was no longer fit for service, and on Sunday, March 31, 1799, a meeting of the Catholics was held and a committee appointed to solicit subscriptions to purchase a lot of land for the erection of a church. Nearly four thousand dollars were subscribed, and Rev. Dr. Matignon felt encouraged to proceed. James Bulfinch, Esq., furnished the plans without consenting to receive any remuneration. Other Protestant gentlemen, led by John Adams, President of the United States, gave their contributions to the building fund.[2]

On the evening of St. Patrick's day, in the year 1800, a number of the Catholics of Boston began to excavate the ground acquired on Franklin Street, in that city, to prepare for the laying of the foundation. The sacred edifice was to be eighty-one feet by fifty-eight, and to be capable of extension, so as to be a square. The Rev. Dr. Matignon, when the work began, had only six hundred dollars on hand, although $3,202 had been subscribed.[3]

This was an encouraging step for Catholicity in New England. But there was soon stern evidence that the old Puritan hatred of the faith was as vigorous as ever.

The Rev. Mr. Cheverus not only visited the Indians in Maine, but on his way attended the scattered Catholics twice a year. While in Maine in January, 1800, he married two Catholics; but as the law of Massachusetts, to which Maine

[1] Rev. John Songé to Bishop Carroll, New York, April, 1797; U. S. Cath. Mag., i., p. 190.

[2] Rev. Dr. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, July 28, 1798.

[3] Bishop B. Fenwick.

was then annexed, prohibited all persons from marrying, except the minister or justice of the peace of the place, Mr. Cheverus, to prevent all trouble, directed the new married couple to go next day before the justice of the peace to ratify their marriage, as was then done in England and elsewhere.[1]

Attorney-General Sullivan, who, in the time of Rev. Mr. Thayer, had shown himself actuated by bitter hostility to the religion of his own parents, instigated a prosecution of Rev. Mr. Cheverus in both the civil and criminal court.

The amiable Rev. Mr. Cheverus was accordingly arrested and brought to trial at Wiscasset in the month of October, 1800. There this gentle and pious priest, whose virtues through life were so much admired, was placed in the dock with the coarsest and most brutal criminals. Two judges, Bradbury and Strong, evinced great hostility to him, Judge Sewall alone regarding the case without prejudice. Rev. Mr. Cheverus had retained two lawyers to defend him—one a member of Congress, the other a member of the State legislature. They adduced in evidence the printed instructions of the Vicars-Apostolic in England, the well-known custom of the missionaries in that country, and the pastoral of Dr. Carroll on marriage. The attorney-general maintained that Mr. Cheverus was minister of Boston and Boston only, and that by exercising functions in Maine he made himself liable to the pillory and a fine. The powers given by Bishop Carroll, authorizing him to minister to the people of his faith throughout New England, did not, in the eyes of the judges, make him their minister; they were wedded to the idea of a local minister. Judge Sewall took a view of the case favorable to Rev. Mr. Cheverus, but the presiding judge, Bradbury, wished to strain

[1] Rev. F. A. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, March 19, 1800.

the letter of the law to its utmost rigor. This Justice said to Mr. Cheverus that if he had not proved that he was a settled minister at Boston, he would have made him stand an hour in the pillory with £80 fine, but as he was recognized as a settled minister, he was liable only to a civil action. The Rev. Mr. Cheverus, standing at the bar before these bigots so immeasurably his inferiors in every moral qualification, was, as he afterward declared, "never in better spirits."[1] He had not flinched before the wild, demoniac madness of the French Revolution and its Reign of Terror; he was not a man to pale before the pillory threats of a brutal New England judge.

This revival of colonial persecution of the Church, such as we have seen in Maryland, required on the part of Catholics the exercise of prudence. At every mission station visited by the Catholic priests outside of Boston, the little flock of Catholics entered into a written agreement with Rev. Mr. Cheverus, with the approbation of Bishop Carroll, by which they recognized him as their pastor, and he agreed to serve them.[2]

But the case against the good priest did not close with his acquittal on the criminal charge and his escape from the pillory to which Judge Bradbury was so anxious to send him. The civil suit was still pressed. Bradbury had declared vehemently that Cheverus must pay the fine; but he was thrown from his horse and prevented from attending court, the attorney-general was absent when the case was reached, and the lawyer who usually attended to his business had been retained by the charitable and devoted priest whom these

[1] Rev. F. A. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, October 14, 1800.

[2] Same to same, September 10, 1801.

fanatics were persecuting. The case was passed, and we hear no more of it.[1]

Read the eloquent eulogies of New England's love of religious freedom and you may think this all a dream, but the papers remain in the files of the court to attest that in 1800 toleration was regarded as much of an evil egg as it was a century and a half before.

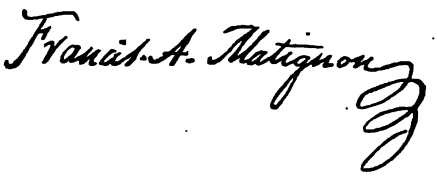
The persecution of the Rev. Mr. Cheverus was not the only evidence of this old anti-Christian feeling. The Rev. Mr. Cheverus thus states it: "Mr. Kavanagh, a respectable merchant living at Newcastle, in the county of Lincoln, district of Maine, has fitted up at his own expense a small neat chapel, where I officiated last year for better than three months. Moreover, the same gentleman with his partner, Mr. Cottrill, has subscribed $1,000 for our new church and has already paid $750. He thought in consequence he would be free from paying taxes to the Congregational minister of his township, but the Judges of the Supreme Court now sitting in Boston declared unanimously (March 5, 1801), that he must pay for the support of the said minister, even if he had a priest always residing with him. 'The Constitution,' said they, 'obliges every one to contribute for the support of Protestant ministers, and them alone. Papists are only tolerated, and as long as their ministers behave well, we shall not disturb them; but let them expect no more than that.' We were present, Dr. Matignon and myself, and as you may suppose, listening with raptures to the above and many other flattering speeches. I really believe, should my former trial come on again, these gentlemen would not be ashamed to set me in the pillory."[2]

[1] Rev. F. A. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, July 8, 1801.

[2] Rev. John Cheverus to Bishop Carroll, Boston, March 10, 1801. Dr. Matignon, March 16, to same, adds: "The Constitution, it was decided,

The spirit of persecution might annoy Catholics; it could not crush them. At the beginning of the year 1802 the devoted pastor of the faithful in New England reported 57 baptisms, 19 marriages, 31 burials, and 200 Easter communions for the previous year. He declared that if the progress of religion was not rapid, it was real, and chiefly confined to the class of persons whom our Saviour was best pleased to instruct; the rich had no time for the study of religion, or too much pride and human respect to embrace the truth. In the eastern mission there had been 50 communions and 30 baptisms.[1]

Besides the district assigned to Rev. Messrs. Matignon and Cheverus, which included New England, the northern part



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. FRANCIS A. MATIGNON.

of other States contained Catholics of Canadian origin living near the boundary line, and Bishop Carroll joyfully accepted the offer of the Bishop of Quebec to permit his clergy residing near these scattered Catholics to minister to them. He empowered the Bishop of Quebec to confer the sacrament of confirmation within the United States when his charity prompted him to pass the boundary between the two countries.[2] Bishop Denaut apparently gave confirmation at De-

did not recognize Catholic priests as empowered to marry, for the Judge declared that the word 'Protestant' was always understood before the word 'Minister'"!

[1] Rev. F. A. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, January 23, 1802.

[2] Bishop Carroll to Bishop Denaut, April 8, 1801. It became the cus-

troit in 1801, as his name appears on the Register of the Church.

Meanwhile a few aspirants to the ministry entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Baltimore—some to persevere, others to falter and turn back. Among the latter were the two candidates for holy orders, who had been sent to Rome by request of the Sovereign Pontiff, in order to be educated at the Urban College.

The most eminent person who entered the Seminary, whether we regard his exalted position in the world or his devoted and self-sacrificing career as a priest, was the Russian Prince Dmitri Gallitzin, son of Prince Dmitri Alexievitz Gallitzin and the Countess Amalia von Schmettau.



SIGNATURE OF REV. D. A. GALLITZIN.

He was born at the Hague on the 22d of September, 1770, and came to America in 1792 with a learned and pious priest, Rev. F. X. Brosius, who had offered his services to Dr. Carroll; he travelled under the name of Schmet, a contraction of his mother's name, but this in America soon became Smith, by which he was known for many years. He bore letters to Bishop Carroll, and when he was introduced to the priests of Saint Sulpice was delighted with their life and work. His father had marked out a brilliant career for him in the military or diplomatic service of Russia, but the peace and simplicity which reigned in America contrasted so forcibly with

tom for the Bishop of Baltimore and the Bishop of New York to appoint the Bishop of Quebec Vicar-General.

the seething maelstrom of European revolution, that penetrated with the vanity of worldly grandeur young Gallitzin resolved to renounce all schemes of pride and ambition and to embrace the clerical profession for the benefit of the American mission.

The Rev. Mr. Brosius had meanwhile been assigned to duty and repaired to his post. Young Gallitzin, who had been visiting some of the houses of the highest social position in Baltimore, then proceeded to the Seminary to examine before God his vocation to the ecclesiastical state. He accompanied Bishop Carroll on one of his visitations, but the world had become distasteful to him. The consent of his father and mother was not easily obtained, but they were at last convinced of the reality of his vocation. He entered the Seminary at Baltimore on the 5th of November, 1792, and turning a deaf ear to the threats and allurements of his family pursued his studies with calm happiness. He was ordained subdeacon on the 21st of November, 1794, and after receiving deacon's orders in the spring was ordained priest



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. P. X. BROSIUS

four months later, on the 18th of March, 1795, by Bishop Carroll. The mission to which he was first assigned was that of Conewago, where he was to aid the venerable Mr. Pellentz and Rev. Mr. Brosius, but as his health had suffered by the confinement and close study at the Seminary, the Bishop directed him to pass some time at Port Tobacco. He made the journey on horseback in Lent, and reached his destination very much weakened and despondent. But encouraged by



PORTRAIT OF REV. PRINCE DEMETRIUS A. GALLITZIN.

a letter from the Bishop,[1] he soon after proceeded to Conewago. Here he entered on his missionary career, extending his visits through the mountainous district, so as in time to include Taneytown, Pipe Creek, Hagerstown, and Cumberland, in Maryland; Chambersburg, Path Valley, Shade Valley, and Huntingdon, in Pennsylvania.

At Chambersburg mass was said in the house of Mr. Michael Stillinger, but the visits of Catholic clergy in those parts excited great rancor in the minds of some bigoted people, and on one occasion Rev. Mr. Brosius, on his way to that town, was pursued by men bent on doing him personal violence. He escaped only by the fleetness of his good horse, which carried himself safely to the shelter of Stillinger's house.[2]

The Rev. Mr. Gallitzin was stationed at Taneytown in time, and in 1799 the Captain Michael McGuire who had settled at Clearfield, a place which he visited early in his career, gave Bishop Carroll a site for a church. The Catholics there and at Frankstown and Sinking Valley petitioned the Bishop for a priest, expressing their wish to have Rev. Mr. Gallitzin, and as this met the young missionary's views, Rev. Mr. Gallitzin proceeded to erect a log-house for himself and a log-chapel, which he completed on Christmas eve, 1799, and dedicated to Saint Michael. "It is about forty-four feet long by twenty-five, built of white pine logs, with a very good shingle roof. I kept service in it at Christmas for the first time, to the very great satisfaction of the whole congregation, who seemed very much moved at a sight which they never beheld before. There is also a house built for me,

[1] Right Rev. J. Carroll to Rev. D. A. Gallitzin, April 17, 1795; Brownson, "Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin," New York, 1873, pp. 96–8.

[2] Brownson, pp. 99–100.

sixteen feet by fourteen, besides a little kitchen and a stable. I have now, thanks be to God, a little home of my own, for the first time since I came to this country, and God grant that I may be able to keep it. The prospect of forming a lasting establishment for promoting the cause of religion is very great; the country is amazing fertile, almost entirely inhabited by Roman Catholics, and so advantageously situated with regard to market that there is no doubt but it will be a place of refuge for a great many Catholics, a great many have bought property there in the course of these three months past and a good many more are expected. The congregation consists at present of about forty families, but there is no end to the Catholics in all the settlements round about me. What will become of them all, if we do not soon receive a new supply of priests, I do not know. I try as much as I can to persuade them to settle around me."

In January, apparently while on one of his long excursions to distant parts of his district, he was called to the Sulphur Springs, Virginia, where he received into the church and prepared for a pious death Mrs. Minghini, whose conversion was one of the blessed fruits of the visitation at Livingston's house. Prince Gallitzin, in a letter to Bishop Carroll, calls her conversion miraculous.[1]

In 1794 a French Catholic colony was founded by Mr. de Talon and Mr. de Noailles at Asylum, in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, opposite the Standing Stone, where Father Pellentz in his time had secured a lot for a church. The settlement contained about thirty families of rank, with servants and mechanics. There were four priests in the party—the Rev. Canon Bec-de-Lièvre, Canon Carles, Archdeacon

[1] Rev. D. A. Gallitzin to Bishop Carroll, February 9, 1800. She died January 22, 1800.

de Sévigny, and the Abbé Fromentin. Of these only the Rev. Mr. Carles officiated for the people, and was much respected. He said mass and administered the sacraments during the five years that he remained at Asylum, and a missal is preserved, which, according to tradition, was used by him.[1] These settlers soon wearied of their project, and most of them returned to Europe. "When I passed there in 1805," writes the Abbé Dilhet, "I gave a mission to the good French deceived in their hopes, and unfortunately so long deprived of the succors of religion. They attended the religious exercises very strictly during the fortnight that the mission lasted. They all approached the sacraments, and by their sincere return to God gave the sweetest consolation that a priest of the Lord can experience in the functions of his ministry."

The Trappists had in 1803 thought of settling there, as land was offered them, but Rev. Mr. Dilhet's visit seems to have been the last priestly one, and the settlers and their descendants gradually lost what little faith they had.[2]

Besides the church attempted at Greensburg, another foothold for Catholicity was gained by a priest named Rev. Theodore Brouwers; he is said to have been a native of Holland, but came from the Danish West Indies. Receiving faculties from Bishop Carroll, he proceeded to Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, and on the 7th of August, 1789, purchased an estate of 165 acres, known as O'Neill's Victory, and lying at the foot of Chestnut Ridge. Finding it too far from the

[1] La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, "Voyage dans les Etats Unis," Paris, vii.-i., pp. 151-170. Letter of Rev. M. J. Hoban, of Troy, Pa.

[2] De Courcy, "Catholic Church in the United States," New York, 1856, pp. 293-4; Dilhet, "Etat Present de l'Eglise." Mr. de Courcy supposed the Rev. Mr. Carles, of Asylum, to be the same priest as the Rev. Ant. Carles, of Savannah, but the latter came to Savannah from St. Domingo in 1803.

great body of Catholic settlers, he wintered with Simon Ruffner, and in the spring purchased for £470 a farm known as Sportsman's Hall, nine miles from Greensburg. Here he erected a log-hut, but continued to say mass at Ruffner's house. His plans for the spiritual benefit of the people of Western Pennsylvania were not to be effected by him in life. His health failed rapidly, and while at the altar one Sunday in June, 1790, he became too ill to complete the august sacrifice. He lingered through the summer, and was attended by the Recollect Father Causse. Finding his end approaching, he made his will on the 24th of October, and died five days afterward.

By his will he left the property he had purchased to the Catholic priest "that shall succeed him in this said place." "It is my will that the priest for the time being shall transmit the land so left him to his successor."

Before Bishop Carroll could provide a priest to carry on the good work projected by the Rev. Mr. Brouwers, a Franciscan who, in 1789, had come to this country from Germany, unsolicited and unknown, Father Francis Fromm, and who had been sent by Bishop Carroll to the missions in York and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania, left his appointed field of labor and proceeded to Westmoreland County, where he assumed control of the estate of the deceased priest. In August, 1791, he wrote to Bishop Carroll announcing that he had been chosen by the congregation, and was in possession. It was one of several indications at that time of the disposition to deny and defy the power of the Bishop of Baltimore.

The good people, at first deluded by his professions of piety, soon attempted to get rid of the intruder, but were compelled to commence legal proceedings in the name of the executors of Rev. Mr. Brouwers. It was one of the first

cases in which the discipline and polity of the Catholic Church came before a civil tribunal in America. The case, impeded by the usual delays, came in 1798 before Judge Alexander Addison, President of the Courts of Common Pleas of the Fifth Circuit of the State of Pennsylvania. Fromm's lawyer argued his case ably, but the Judge laid down the law distinctly:

"The Bishop of Baltimore has, and before, and at the time of Fromm's taking possession of this estate, had the sole episcopal authority over the Catholic Church of the United States. Every Catholic congregation within the United States is subject to his inspection; and without authority from him, no Catholic priest can exercise any pastoral functions over any congregation within the United States. Without his appointment or permission to exercise pastoral functions over this congregation, no priest can be intitled, under the will of Browers, to claim the enjoyment of this estate. Fromm had no such appointment or permission, and is, therefore, incompetent to discharge the duties, or enjoy the benefits, which are the objects of the will of Browers."

The jury, under the direction of the judge, gave a verdict against Fromm, and the intruding priest was ousted from the estate, which has in our days realized the wishes of the good priest Brouwers, by becoming the site of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Vincent, and has been a source of spiritual blessings to the land.

The case became a leading one, and established in the courts the authority of a Roman Catholic Bishop.[1]

[1] Addison, "Reports of Cases in the County Courts of the Fifth Circuit," Washington, 1800, pp. 362–372; Deeds and Will in [Moosmüller] "St. Vincenz in Pennsylvanien," New York, 1873, pp. 357–365. Statement of Fromm's case in Archbishop Carroll's handwriting, in the Ar-

The Rev. Lawrence S. Phelan was sent by Bishop Carroll to care for the flock misled by Fromm; that priest, however, not only kept possession of the farm, but trumped up a charge against Rev. Mr. Phelan and those who favored him, and the lawful priest and several others were arrested on a charge of conspiring to murder Fromm.

Rev. Mr. Phelan, taking up his abode with Simon Ruffner, labored on to effect what good he could, but soon relinquished the struggle, and was some years after laboring zealously at Chambersburg.[1]

The Rev. Peter Helbron was sent by Bishop Carroll to this mission in 1800, and as Fromm had gone to Philadelphia to carry his suit to a higher court, and died there of yellow fever unreconciled, the way was open for efficient work. When Father Helbron got possession of Sportsman's Hall, between May and August, he wrote: "My dwelling shall no more be called Sportsman's Hall, but Clear Spring, near Greensburg." He erected the first church, a log-house twenty-six feet by twenty. He labored zealously for several years, aided a part of the time by a Rev. Mr. Flynn. In one tour in 1805 he visited five counties, baptizing ninety children, and even then, writing from Pittsburgh, he said he would visit Washington, Roundstone, and York River before he returned home. This hard-working Capuchin continued his life of toil on the Western Pennsylvania missions till 1815, when a tumor on his neck defied the skill of the country physicians. He visited Philadelphia, but his case was beyond

chives at Baltimore, dated August 24, 1798. Lambing, "A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny," New York, 1880, pp. 361–4.

[1] Rev. Lawrence Sil. Phelan to Bishop Carroll, October 17, 1795; Chambersburg, March 7, 1807. Father Moosmüller gives the name Wheeling, but his letters show his real name.

remedy, and he died at Carlisle toward the close of 1816, while on his way to his poor home.

During his ministry he endeavored to build a church at Greensburg, and sought legal authority in 1806 to get up a lottery for the purpose.[1]

In 1796 the Rev. Patrick Lonergan, O.S.F., went to Western Pennsylvania, intending to take up lands and draw Catholic settlers to them. Here he intended not only to establish a house of his order, but also a convent of religious women, his sister, a nun, having accompanied him with that view. He was at Northumberland in 1796.[2] He is said next to have proceeded to Rev. Mr. Brouwers' place in Westmoreland County, where Fromm still held possession, and finding it impossible to plant his colony there, purchased several thousand acres at West Alexander, in Washington County. He wrote to Bishop Carroll from Milltown, twenty miles from his purchase, January 24, 1797, asking to have Irish Catholic settlers directed to him, as they would enjoy all the benefits of religion. His last removal was to Waynesburg, Greene County.[3] His schemes of colonization all proved abortive; he left Pennsylvania and descended the Mississippi, only to die at New Orleans.[4]

Nothing had yet been done to revive religion at the town

[1] Rev. P. Helbron to Bishop Carroll, Philadelphia, April 17, 1800; Sportsman's Hall, August 20, 1800; Clear Spring, March 19, 1802, March 16, 1807; Philadelphia, November 22, 1806, December 11, 1808.

[2] Rev. Patrick Lonergan to Bishop Carroll, May 5, November 22, 1796.

[3] Rev. P. Helbron to Bishop Carroll, November 1, 1805. Mr. Collerick, a printer at Washington, had recently paid the taxes on the property to save it.

[4] Lambing, "A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny," New York, 1880, p. 227; Letter from Milltown, Pa., January 24, 1797; Moosmüller, "St. Vincenz in Pennsylvanien," New York, 1873, p. 70.

which had grown up on the site of Fort Duquesne and the chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River. The Rev. Michael Fournier, on his way to Kentucky in the winter of 1796–7, was detained for fourteen weeks at Fort Pitt, but though he said mass there for the Catholics every Sunday, they were so indifferent that, out of more than a hundred, only six ever came to enjoy the privilege of being present at the august sacrifice.[1] They professed, however, an intention of building a church and applying to the Bishop for a pastor. Two priests, on their way to Natchez, Rev. Messrs. Maguire and Bodkin, also wintered at this time at Pittsburgh.[2] The Sulpitian, Rev. John Dilhet, who stopped there in 1798, says: "I found the people very eager to have a priest. I wrote to the Bishop of Baltimore, who has ever since supplied them with one. In place of the chapel which has been used till now (1805), a subscription has been taken up to build a church."[3]

Religion was thus progressing in Western Pennsylvania.

Rev. Mr. Thayer retired from Boston, and was stationed in 1794 at Alexandria, but was unhappy there, not being accustomed to the institution of slavery as he found it in the South. In 1796 the trustees of St. Peter's Church, New York, solicited the Bishop to appoint him as assistant to Rev. William O'Brien, but the latter was reluctant to receive him,[4] and Dr. Carroll would not force on the rector of St.

[1] Rev. M. Fournier to Bishop Carroll, Priest's Land, Ky., March 2, 1797.

[2] Same to same, Pittsburgh, November 22, 1796.

[3] Dilhet, "Etat Present de l'Eglise."

[4] Bishop Carroll to Thomas Stoughton, July 5, 1796. Same to Rev. William O'Brien, same date.

Peter's an assistant distasteful to him. The Rev. Mr. Thayer, who was evidently little fitted for parochial work, became discouraged, and asked to leave the diocese, to which the Bishop, who knew his merit, reluctantly consented.

But Rev. Mr. Thayer undertook, as we shall see, a mission in Kentucky for a time, with equally discouraging results. He then went to Europe, and died in Limerick after rendering great services to religion.

After the first mission efforts at Apoquimink in Delaware, the Jesuit Fathers, according to their usual custom, where there seemed a hope of gathering a Catholic congregation, purchased a piece of property. Father Matthew Sittensperger, known on the mission by the name of Manners, acquired in January, 1772, a farm in Mill Creek Hundred.[1] On this property, known also as Coffee Run, a log-chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and a residence were put up which served for many years.

The atrocities of the negroes in Saint Domingo drove many of the French from that island to this country, and some settled at Wilmington with the Rev. Stephen Faure, to whom Bishop Carroll gave faculties. He died at Bohemia, August 21, 1798, leaving the reputation of a pious, charitable, and learned priest. He was succeeded as pastor by the Rev. Mr. Cibot, who had been Vice-Prefect Apostolic in St. Domingo.[2]

In 1800 St. Mary's had as its pastor the Rev. Charles Whelan, who from it attended Wilcox's, Westchester, Jenkins', and O'Neill's. Five years later he was still on that

[1] Father Manners being an alien, the deed could not be made to him; it was made to Father John Lewis.

[2] Records of the A. C. Hist. Society, Philadelphia, 1887, i., pp. 139, 142.

mission, enduring much from the tenant of the church farm.[1] He died on the 21st of March in the following year, 1806.

West of the Alleghanies, Kentucky required the care of Bishop Carroll.

The Rev. Mr. Badin was appointed to the Kentucky missions, which Rev. Mr. Whelan had abandoned while Bishop Carroll was in Europe. The young priest set out from Baltimore, September 6, 1793, with the Rev. Mr. Barrières, who had been appointed Vicar-General. They travelled on foot to Pittsburg. Then in a small flat-boat, with six companions all well-armed, they descended the Ohio, past Wheeling and Marietta to Gallipolis. Here they found the remnant of the Scioto colony. The arrival of the two priests was hailed with joy, and for three days they exerted themselves to relieve the spiritual destitution. They sang high mass at an altar reared in the garrison or log-fort and baptized forty children.

Landing at Maysville, then called Limestone, they resumed their toilsome march and passing over the Blue Licks battle-ground, reached Lexington. Welcomed here in the house of Dennis McCarthy, Rev. Mr. Badin said mass on the first Sunday of Advent, and Rev. Mr. Barrières rode sixteen miles to the Catholic settlement in Scott County, where he also offered the holy sacrifice. Rev. Mr. Badin made Scott County the centre of his missions, while Very Rev. Mr. Barrières began his labors in Nelson County. The latter clergyman, however, soon found that he was unfitted for the ministry in the backwoods. After four months' trial he abandoned the field, and in April, 1794, set out for New Orleans in a periagua. Rev. Mr. Badin was thus left almost alone in Kentucky, and remained so for nearly three years, receiving little aid in the exercise of the ministry from

[1] Rev. Charles Whelan to Bishop Carroll, Mill Creek Hundred, January 14, 1800; White Clay Creek, January 28, 1805.

Father de Rohan, who was ignorant, careless, and by no means edifying. The young priest was thoroughly disheartened. In his letters to Bishop Carroll he bewailed the disorders that existed. The youth seemed estranged from the faith and from morality; ignorant of their religion and its duties. The Rev. Mr. Badin was, however, a man especially fitted for the field, and his courage and energy never relaxed. He was constantly on his pastoral visits from settlement to settlement, gathering and instructing old and young, hearing confessions, saying mass. After a time he fixed his residence on Pottinger's Creek, and erecting a log-hut on the site of the present Loretto convent, gave it the name of St. Stephen's.

The chief stations where Rev. Mr. Badin gathered his people, were at Lexington, in Scott, Madison, and Mercer Counties, at Holy Cross the only church, still an unglazed, clapboarded, log-chapel, with a slab of wood for an altar; at Bardstown, on Cartwright's Creek, near the site of the present St. Rose's church, Hardin's Creek, Rolling Fork, and Poplar Neck.

Though tempted by the offer of a convenient house and a fixed salary by the Spanish Governor at St. Genevieve, Rev. Mr. Badin sturdily clung to the hard mission to which Bishop Carroll had after their united prayer assigned him.

In 1797 he was cheered by the arrival of the Rev. Michael C. J. Fournier, who reached St. Stephen's on the 26th of February. This co-laborer took up his residence on the Rolling Fork, where he erected a house which served as a chapel. Assuming the charge of the Catholics on Hardin's, Cartwright's, and Rough Creeks, and those in Lincoln and Madison Counties, this excellent and pious priest, adapting himself at once to the flock assigned to him, labored so cheerfully and zealously till his death in 1803, that his

memory is preserved in household recollections of his ministry to this day.

In 1799 Kentucky received two other priests, Rev. Anthony Salmon, who soon after, rising from a sick-bed to visit Bardstown, was thrown from his horse and received injuries from which he expired the next day; and the Rev. John Thayer, who failing to adapt himself to parochial work in the East had been sent by Bishop Carroll to Kentucky; but the same trouble ensued and he was advised by his Superior to leave Kentucky.

Rev. Mr. Salmon in his brief career had commenced the erection of churches at Bardstown and Hardin's Creek, each of which stations had some seventy Catholic families.[1] The first churches in the State were, like the houses of the settlers, log structures, St. Joseph's near Bardstown dating back to 1798 apparently, though some make it three years older.

The Rev. Mr. Thayer labored in Kentucky for four years, but he was unfitted for a slave State, and his life did not meet the strict views of Rev. Mr. Badin. In 1803, Bishop Carroll having withdrawn his faculties, he left the State and went to Europe.

With Catholics multiplying in all parts of the country, and appeals pouring in for priests, Bishop Carroll turned to Ireland and solicited aid. But the French Revolution had swept away the colleges in different parts of Europe which had been hives for keeping up the Irish clergy. The College

[1] Spalding, "Sketches of the early Catholic Missions of Kentucky." Louisville, 1844, pp. 56, 60–81; Webb, "Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," Louisville, 1884, pp. 162–169, p. 111; Rev. S. T. Badin to Bishop Carroll, April 11 and June 28, 1796; Rev. M. C. J. Fournier to same, November 22, 1796, and March 2, 1797; Rev. A. Salmon to same, May 27, 1799. "Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky," Paris, 1821, pp. 3–7; Right Rev. John Carroll to Rev. John Thayer, July 31, 1801.

at Maynooth was about to open, but some years would necessarily elapse before it gave so many that Ireland could spare any worthy priests for the American mission. In regard to Maynooth, Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, writing to Dr. Carroll, said: "This will be a great and most providential supply and resource, but inadequate to our wants, as a much greater number were educated in the suppressed foreign establishments. Besides the scarcity will be most sensibly felt before the 200 can finish their studies, after the shortest possible course. Your Lordship may conclude from this statement, that no assistance to your diocese can be expected from hence, from such clergymen as I would conscientiously recommend."[1]

In a Lenten Pastoral, Bishop Carroll exhorted the Catholics of his diocese to a due observance of the holy season of mortification and prayer. He laid down regulations, few beyond the limits of the old Maryland and Pennsylvania missions, having any knowledge of those prescribed for the colonies early in the century by that confessor of the faith, Bishop Bonaventure Giffard.

Bishop Carroll began by calling the attention of the people to the condition of the Church and the necessity for prayer and mortification. "On one side, many awful manifestations of divine displeasure give great cause to fear that Sovereign Justice has been and now is highly provoked by human iniquities. The calamitous state of Christianity; the violent and increasing oppressions of the holy Church; the destruction of its venerable sanctuaries; the breaking up of numerous establishments, instituted for the preservation and extension of true religion; the abolition, as far as human means could effect it, of asylums and facilities for the observance of the evangelical counsels, and the integrity of

[1] Archbishop Troy to Right Rev. Dr. Carroll, April 13, 1798.

Christian perfection, the dispersion and outrages committed on the lawful pastors of the Church, the long rigorous confinement of and interception of all correspondence between the Vicar of Christ and the flock committed to his pastoral charge; the imminent danger of fatal divisions in the bosom of the Church, bursting asunder the bonds which unite together its children in One Faith under One Divine Shepherd, and his representative on earth the Successor of St. Peter. These and other awful tokens of divine displeasure, evidence the necessity and obligation of using our earnest endeavors to appease the wrath of heaven, in order to avert present evils and those still to be apprehended."

"O Beloved Brethren! what powerful motives concur to persuade us to devote the acceptable time, the days of salvation now approaching, for obtaining the desirable and salutary objects for which the Apostolic institution of Lent was introduced! We have to solicit for the church Divine protection and its freedom from violence and inthralments, for the restoration of peace to all nations, and especially its preservation in these United States, for the deliverance of our venerable Pontiff from his disastrous captivity and his restoration to the free and independent government of the Church, for steadfastness in the faith and unshaken constancy in the ministers of the sanctuary, and of each one of us particularly, amidst all the violent assaults of infidelity and examples of licentiousness and dissolution of manners."

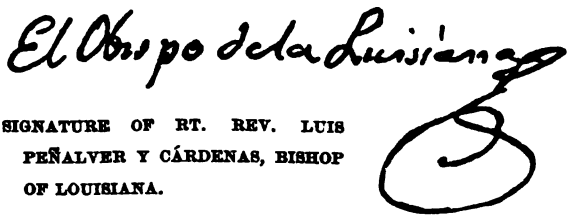
He urged them to renewed prayer and fervor, to detachment from unholy amusements, and to a spirit of mortification.[1]

In 1799 some correspondence took place between Bishop Carroll and the Bishop of the adjoining diocese of Louisiana

[1] Right Rev. John Carroll, Lenten Pastoral.

and the Floridas, the Right Rev. Dr. Luis Peñalver. Bishop Carroll did not easily find priests to accept the remote missions on the Mississippi from Kaskaskia to Natchez, and when a priest undertook any of these frontier positions, he soon became discouraged, as the people showed little inclination to support a priest or to benefit by his ministry. Beyond the Mississippi was a Catholic province where priests were needed, and where the clergy received regularly a stipend from the King of Spain. It is not to be wondered at that some abandoned their thankless labors on the eastern shore for the more attractive field of labor beyond.

Bishop Carroll wrote to the Bishop of Louisiana on the



SIGNATURE OF RT. REV. LUIS PEÑALVER Y CÁRDENAS, BISHOP OF LOUISIANA.

18th of October, 1798, in regard to Father Charles Leander Lusson, whom Bishop Carroll had appointed to a mission in Illinois, but who had crossed the river to become parish priest of St. Charles, representing that he had lost the exeat he received from Bishop Carroll, when in fact none had been given. Bishop Peñalver courteously admitted that he had been deceived and offered to remove him.

He also informed Bishop Carroll that as the Spanish government had relinquished to the United States Natchez and Vicksburg, a district captured from the English and distinctly yielded to Spain by treaty, steps should be taken to secure the church property at Natchez and Coles Creek or Villa Gayoso, which had been left under the care of Don

José Vidal, the Spanish consul. Until Bishop Carroll could provide for these churches, Bishop Peñalver had permitted the Rev. Francis Lennan, then parish priest of Pointe Coupée, to visit his former flock from time to time, and offer the holy sacrifice at the two churches.[1]

In the spring of 1793 Bishop Carroll sent to Charleston the Rev. S. F. Gallagher, who came recommended by Archbishop Troy. He was learned and eloquent, but the Bishop soon heard of "neglect of the sacraments and other abuses, which diminish the respect due to the maxims of the gospel and the decency of divine worship." He endeavored, in vain, to induce the talented but irregular priest to transfer the charge of the church to the Rev. Mr. Ryan; Rev. Mr. Gallagher appealed to Rome,[2] and left Charleston to prosecute his cause.

In September, 1803, the Rev. Mr. Le Mercier, who had been appointed by Bishop Carroll to the church in Charleston, presented his credentials to the trustees, but they refused to recognize him as pastor of the church, or as anything but a "locum tenens," till the return of Rev. Mr. Gallagher. The Rev. Mr. Le Mercier refused any such conditional acceptance, as his appointment by Bishop Carroll was unconditional.[3] When Rev. Mr. Gallagher returned he prevented Rev. Mr. Le Mercier from saying mass at the altar of the church.[4]

The next year Gallagher was interdicted by Bishop Carroll from all functions except that of saying mass in his own

[1] Bishop Peñalver to Bishop Carroll, New Orleans, April 12, 1799.

[2] Bishop Carroll to Rev. S. F. Gallagher, July 14, 1801, November 3, 1802; to Mr. Samuel Corbet, November 10, 1801.

[3] Rev. Mr. Le Mercier to Bishop Carroll, Charleston, September 7, 1803.

[4] Letter January 23, 1804.

house.[1] The trustees then ordered the old church to be torn down, in order to prevent the priest appointed by Bishop Carroll from officiating; but an indignant meeting of the Catholics at large prevented the sacrilege. Gallagher then opened a public chapel in his house,[2] and continued to exercise the ministry even in North Carolina.

Rev. Mr. Le Mercier visited the scattered Catholics, and in 1805 was at Raleigh, North Carolina.[3] He labored for some years at Charleston, endeavoring to repair the injury done to religion by Gallagher, who retained possession of the church. Mr. Le Mercier died on his way to France about 1806, and in 1812 Archbishop Carroll confided the difficult task of keeping religion alive to Rev. Joseph Pierre Picot de Clorivière. He was assiduous in catechizing the young, having sixty white children in his Sunday-school, and a separate class of colored children.[4]

Georgia, in colonial days, had been closed to the Church, the fundamental charter expressly prohibiting the settlement of Catholics within its limits, and thus distinctly excluding the teaching of divine truth.

The Revolutionary war opened the portals which bigotry had closed.

The first priest to establish the worship of God in Georgia, was the Abbé le Moine, who began his labors at Maryland, fifty miles above Augusta, visiting that town and also Savannah. To that place he removed, and erected a small wooden church,

Of the date when his labors commenced no data remain;

[1] This was on August 15, 1805. Letter of Le Mercier, September 12, 1805.

[2] Le Mercier to Bishop Carroll, September 12, 1805.

[3] Judge Gaston to Bishop Carroll, October 25, 1805.

[4] Rev. Picot de Clorivière to Bishop Carroll, January 29, 1813.

but he died in the latter part of the year 1796, after having won the greatest respect and consideration by his zeal and virtue. He directed a layman, Mr. Duchesneau, to take possession of everything belonging to the Catholic chapel which he had established and transmit all to Bishop Carroll. Among the articles were vestments recently sent to him by his brother in Paris.

His death led to great confusion. The French consul seized all the church effects as private property of the good priest; the Spaniards belonging to a prize endeavored to give him an honorable funeral, but the crew of some French privateers made it an occasion for offering every possible insult to religion, actually mutilating a cross amid ribald songs and jeers.

The Rev. Mr. Le Mercier, sent by Bishop Carroll to revive the labors of the pioneer priest, recovered some of the vestments, but badly injured by rats and mice, so little care had been taken to preserve them. He at once proceeded to the grave of Rev. Mr. Le Moine, and performed the burial service.[1]

About this time considerable tracts of land were offered for the establishment of Catholic churches and maintenance of priests in Georgia, but Bishop Carroll was unable to obtain clergymen from Ireland who would have been able to draw Catholic settlers to that State.[2]

In 1803 the Abbé Anthony Carles, driven from Santo Domingo by the troubles in that island, reached Savannah. He remitted his credentials showing that he had been a duly appointed parish priest, and Vicar-General of the Prefect-Apostolic, Mgr. Lecou. He at once began to officiate for

[1] Rev. Mr. Le Mercier to Bishop Carroll, Savannah, October 14, 1796.

[2] Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy, May 25, 1796.

the Catholics of that city and the French fugitives from the West Indies. Bishop Carroll gladly appointed him to the charge, and soon after requested him to attend Augusta also. Rev. Robert Browne, O.S.A., sent to Augusta in 1810, purchased a site and began to erect a small church. Rev. Mr. Carles attended the Catholics of Georgia for some time; for though he made a visit to France, he returned to Savannah in 1807.[1]

In the country northwest of the Ohio, the position of the little body of French Catholics was greatly injured by the results of the Revolutionary war. Virginia legislation was hostile to their land tenures; the United States government extended but feeble support. The English, under pretext that the Republic had failed to carry out certain provisions of the treaty in regard to the payment of debts contracted before the war, retained possession of Ogdensburg and Niagara, Sandusky, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and much territory around the military posts at those points, and even erected another fort on the Maumee. From these posts they controlled the Indian trade and supplied the savage tribes with arms and ammunition, if they did not openly encourage them in hostilities against the Americans. The French settlers at Detroit and Raisin River were completely under English control. Those on the Wabash and in Illinois were surrounded by hostile Indians. In the advance of American settlements these French were viewed with great suspicion by the frontiersmen and our government took no steps to protect them. On the contrary, military expeditions treated the Catholic settlers at the West as though they were hostile Indians. This was especially the case in the wanton destruc-

[1] Rev. Picot de Clorivière to Bishop Carroll, December 6, 1803; Rev. Anthony Carles to Bishop Carroll, February 3, 1804, February 7 and October 12, 1807.

tion of the village of Ouiatenon by the forces under General Scott in 1791.[1]

By the time that Wayne's victory humbled the Indians and Jay's treaty delivered the Western posts from English tenure, the old-time Catholics of the West were reduced to wretchedness and misery.

As churches sprang up in Western Pennsylvania and Kentucky, the old French posts in the West were no longer isolated. They came in direct intercourse with the Atlantic, and were gradually coalescing with the Catholic body of the United States.

They had, as we have seen, been in a manner left to themselves by the Bishop of Quebec, who feared to give offence to the new Republic, and Rev. Dr. Carroll had found that any right to jurisdiction by him in that district was doubtful till a decree of the Propaganda decided definitely the extent of his diocese.

The Church in the territory northwest of the Ohio was in a strange position.[2] Dr. Carroll, on receiving his appointment as Prefect-Apostolic, supposed his jurisdiction to embrace the whole of the Republic, and the wandering Carmelite Father St. Pierre, who recognized him as Superior, made

[1] General Scott to General Henry Knox, March 9, 1791. It was a place of seventy houses, many well finished.

[2] Civil affairs were in similar disorder. The Virginia authorities had virtually abandoned their pretended powers, and there was little law or order. It was not till the passage of "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio," by the Continental Congress, July 13, 1787, that order was restored. This act especially reserved "to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincent's, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property." Carey, "American Museum," ii., p. 88.

his way from Kentucky to Illinois; and Dr. Carroll sent the Rev. Peter Huet de la Valinière to those parts with powers of Vicar-General.

He then ascertained that Rev. Peter Gibault was in the Illinois country claiming to be Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. Michigan and the country on the lakes was held by England, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, and the Bishop of Quebec had his priests at Detroit and in time at Raisin River and the Maumee. When Dr. Carroll comprehended the actual situation, he wrote to Mgr. Hubert, who, after his labors in the West, had, as we shall see, ascended the episcopal throne of Laval.

"MONSEIGNEUR:

"The necessity in which I find myself of asking from your Lordship some light on a rather delicate matter affords me at the same time the honor of expressing to you the high veneration which I feel for your character and your episcopal virtues.

"Encouraged by the favorable attestations with which Mr. Huet de la Valinière was furnished by his Ecclesiastical Superiors in Canada, I very readily accepted his offer to proceed to the Illinois and I appointed him my Vicar-General there. Since his departure I have received letters, written from Post St. Vincent, by another priest named Gibeau, and who informs me that he himself has been Vicar-General of the Bishops of Quebec for nineteen years.

"This is a point, my Lord, on which I need information, and as to which I venture to ask some light from your Lordship, especially as reports have reached me in regard to Mr. Gibeau, very unfavorable as to his conduct.

"I learned some time since that your Lordship was displeased at my interference with the ecclesiastical government

of the Illinois. I did so because I believed it included in my jurisdiction, and because I had no idea that your Lordship extended your pastoral care to those parts. No ambitious motive impelled me, and if your Lordship intends to provide for their spiritual wants, it will deliver me from a very great embarrassment, and relieve my conscience of a burthen, that is extremely heavy.

"In that case, my only anxiety would be, that the United States will not, perhaps, permit the exercise even of spiritual power by a British subject.

"I have the honor to be with the most respectful devotedness,

"Your Lordship's most humble and obedient
Servant,

"J. CARROLL,
"Ecclesiastical Superior in the
United States.

"BALTIMORE, May 5, 1788.

"P. S.—Letters sent me by way of New York will reach me safely."

The Bishop of Quebec had already, on learning of the presence of Rev. Messrs. St. Pierre and La Valinière in the Illinois country, written to the Propaganda, but in view of the difficulties of the situation, had determined not to interfere, so long as they did not penetrate any further into his diocese, or compromise him by their acts.[1] Bishop Hubert,

[1] "By the treaty of peace in 1783, the territory south of the St. Lawrence River from the 45th degree of latitude having been ceded to the Anglo-Americans, and the Illinois and Tamarois being included in that part, the Bishop of Quebec has sent no permanent missionary there since that date. It is even to be presumed that the government would take it amiss, so that matters will be left as they are till further orders.

"It seems, indeed, that Mr. de la Valinière and Mr. de St. Pierre have

professing his inability to dismember his diocese, continued this policy and confirmed all Dr. Carroll saw fit to do.[1] But Michigan being still under the British flag, he regarded as part of his diocese. He addressed a pastoral letter to his old flock at Detroit, which began:

"John Francis Hubert, by the mercy of God, and the favor of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Quebec, &c., &c., to the inhabitants of the two parishes of Detroit, known under the names of the Assumption and St. Anne, Health and Benediction. The happy and peaceful sojourn that I made among you, my very dear brethren, has left in my soul sentiments of attachment and affection so deeply imprinted that you must class among the great consolations of my life, that which I now feel in transmitting to you, a public and solemn testimony of my truly pastoral love.

"As you are aware, very dear Brethren, the interests and salvation of your souls, the desire to induce you to tread the paths of justice, the hope of preserving in your hearts the maxims of our holy religion which other missionaries had taught you, these were the only motives which led me to you in 1781. If Divine Providence compelled me to leave with tearful eyes a beloved land in which I hoped to end my days, it has not effaced from my memory the frequent instructions which I gave you nor the pleasure with which you seemed to hear them."

been deputed to the Illinois country by the Prefect-Apostolic of New England. I do not know the extent of their powers, as to which they make no report to me; but on the whole, I am not disposed to interfere with them, so long as they do not advance any further into my diocese, leaving myself free to disavow them, if they commit any fault, with which I am reproached." Bishop Hubert to Rev. Mr. Devillers at Paris, October 15, 1787.

[1] Bishop Hubert to Dr. Carroll, October 6, 1788.

He concludes by urging them to remain faithful to the King of England.[1]

The Rev. Peter Gibault was still the priest for all the country from the Wabash to the Mississippi, and even crossed to attend St. Genevieve, though the Capuchin Father Bernard, when appointed to St. Louis, assumed charge also of Cahokia.

The Illinois country was in a wretched condition, the Virginia authorities had withdrawn, and there was neither defence against attack nor civil government.[2]

About the commencement of the year 1785 the Rev. Mr. Gibault took up his residence at Vincennes, which for some time previously had been visited only from time to time. "I have sufficient confidence in our Lord Jesus Christ, to have hopes of banishing barbarism soon from Vincennes, where the inhabitants, especially the young people, have had no religious principles for the last 23 years, except when I passed there on my brief missions, as Rev. Mr. Payet did. They grew up like the Indians amid whom they lived. I gave them and still give them catechetical instructions twice a day, after mass, and in the evening before sunset. After each instructions I send the girls home, and make the boys repeat the responses of the mass and the ceremonies of the church for Sundays and holidays. I preach on these days as often as I can." "When I arrived here I found no one big

[1] Pastoral letter of Bishop Hubert to the inhabitants of Sandwich and Detroit, November 2, 1789. Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec. "Mandements, etc., des Evêques de Quebec," Quebec, 1887–8, ii., p. 382. Even in 1791, in a letter to Cardinal Antonelli, Bishop Hubert spoke of Detroit as belonging to his diocese (Letter to the Propaganda, Quebec, October 25, 1791); and it was not till the surrender of the city by the English in 1796 that it came practically under the care of Right Rev. Dr. Carroll.

[2] Rev. P. Gibault to Bishop of Quebec, St. Genevieve, April 1, 1788.

or little to serve mass except an old man born in Europe, who could not always come and then no mass. Two months after I had several, and now the smallest boys in the village not only are able to serve mass, but know the ceremonies for Sundays and holidays, and the whole catechism, both the larger and smaller. I should be well enough pleased with the people, were it not for the wretched liquor trade which I cannot eradicate, and which compels me to refuse the sacraments to several, for the Indians commit horrible disorders when in liquor."

"I should not have succeeded in building a church at this post, had not the people at Cahokia sent a messenger in the name of the whole parish, to beg me to take charge of them, offering me very advantageous terms. The people at Post Vincennes having good grounds to fear that I might leave them, unanimously resolved to build a church, ninety feet long by forty-two broad, on a foundation and of boards. Part of the wood is already got out, and several fathoms of stone for the foundation. The upright posts will be only seventeen feet high, but the winds are so violent in these parts, that even this is rather high for strength. The house which is now used as a church will serve as a priest's house, and I think I can occupy it a few months hence. The lot is a large dry one in the middle of the village, which I myself, with the marguillers, obtained sixteen years ago. I beg you to approve this erection of a new church under the title of St. Francis Xavier on the Wabash, and to enjoin me to proceed to complete it, and also to adorn it as well as the poverty of the people will permit." [1]

To charges that had been made against his character, he replied with honest indignation: "To all the pains and hard-

[1] Letter to Bishop of Quebec, June 6, 1786.

ships that I have undergone in my different journeys to most distant points, winter and summer, attending so many villages in Illinois distant from each other, in all weathers, night and day, snow or rain, wind, storm or fog on the Mississippi, so that I never slept four nights in a year in my own bed, never hesitating to start at a moment's notice, whether sick or well, how can a priest who sacrifices himself in this way, with no other view than God's glory, and the salvation of his neighbor, with no pecuniary reward, almost always ill-fed, unable to attend to both spiritual and temporal, how I say, can you know such a priest zealous to fulfil the duties of his holy ministry, careful to watch over his flock, instruct them in the most important tenets of religion, instruct the young unceasingly and untiringly not only in Christian doctrine but teaching the boys to read and write, as one who gives scandal, and is addicted to intoxication?"

Rev. Mr. Gibault continued his labors at Vincennes, and in 1788 narrowly escaped with his life, his missionary journeys increasing in danger as the Indians became more and more hostile. Massacres of the French were constant, and on one occasion the Sieur Paul Desruisseaux was killed and Sieur Bonvouloir wounded, so near the courageous priest that he was all covered with their blood.

In view of the state of affairs and his reluctance to serve under a Spanish or an American bishop, the Canadian priest earnestly besought the Bishop of Quebec to recall him.[1]

A Dominican Father, Le Dru, who had been employed in Canada, was sent to Illinois by Bishop Carroll, but he soon removed to St. Louis,[2] and appears in other missions.

Rev. Mr. Gibault's last visit to Vincennes was in October,

[1] Rev. P. Gibault to Bishop of Quebec, May 22, 1788.

[2] Rev. F. Le Dru to Bishop of Quebec, St. Louis, March 29, 1790.

1789; he was then residing at Cahokia, whence, in 1790, he forwarded to Governor St. Clair a petition for a grant of part of the Seminary Land at Cahokia, in compensation for losses sustained by him. This was granted, although the United States government had no title whatever to the land.[1]

Bishop Carroll, on learning of this, entered his protest with the Government of the United States against this attempt to alienate church property to an individual clergyman.

Apparently in consequence, the Rev. Mr. Gibault left the diocese of Baltimore and retired to the Spanish territory beyond the Mississippi. He finally settled at New Madrid, where he died early in 1804.[2]

We have seen that the Very Rev. Mr. Hubert had been sent to the West as Vicar-General, and had appointed Rev. Mr. Payet to succeed the venerable Recollect Father Bocquet at Detroit.

While the Very Rev. Mr. Hubert was still at that city, in the summer of 1784 Rev. Mr. Payet proceeded to Vincennes, which had for some time been without a priest, and in July



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. MR. PAYET.

he baptized under condition, with the prescribed ceremonies, many children baptized privately by Phillibert, the guardian of the church, who kept a register with a regularity that deserves praise. Rev. Mr. Payet remained there till Sep-

[1] Rev. H. Alerding, "A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes," Indianapolis, 1883, pp. 64–8.

[2] Rev. Gabriel Richard to Bishop Carroll, Detroit, May 1, 1804.

tember.[1] During the clergyman's absence from Detroit, the Very Rev. Mr. Hubert discharged the parochial functions, but though out on a remote frontier post, his merit and ability led to his nomination November 30, 1784, as coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec. Writing to Bishop Briand, September 26, 1784, he announces the completion of the new parochial residence and the plan of rebuilding the church; but he deplores the neglect of religion, which he ascribes mainly to the profanation of the Lord's day. His last entry in the Detroit Register is a baptism October 31, 1784.[2] He returned soon after to Quebec, and by a bull of Pope Pius VI., June 14, 1785, was made Bishop of Almyra and coadjutor of Quebec. On the 19th of November, in the next year, he was consecrated by Right Rev. John Oliver Briand, and became Bishop of Quebec, June 4, 1788.[3]

Rev. Mr. Payet remained as parish priest at Detroit till June 22, 1786. He had pushed on the erection of the church, and in February he announced that the sacristy was up, but not yet under cover, and that the contract for the sashes in the church and for ceiling the sanctuary had been given out. "Providence," he wrote, "is my only hope, for I have fears as to the habitans with whom money becomes scarcer and scarcer, for it is hard to sell wheat at these 'pontes,' and the rest in proportion. Be that as it may, we shall do our best without losing courage."[4]

He was sent by Vicar-General Hubert to Cahokia and

[1] His last entry is July 24, 1786. Register of Vincennes; Gravé to Villars, Oct. 19, 1786; Archives de Quebec.

[2] Letter in Archives at Quebec.

[3] His first entry as curé is July 8, 1786; his last July 6, 1796.

[4] Letter February 20, 1786; Letter of Gravé to Willem.

Kaskaskia, but as he suffered from a pain in the chest, he announced his resignation, and solicited a position in Canada. On his departure the Rev. P. Frechette, parish priest at the Assumption, now Sandwich, took charge of St. Anne's church, Detroit, and remained there as parish priest for several years.[1]

Meanwhile a number of the French Catholics had settled on Raisin River, and a cemetery was laid off at an early period. When, however, the Bishop of Quebec placed this mission under the charge of Rev. Mr. Frechette, the settlers assembled to adopt measures for erecting a church.

While the Quebec clergy were thus endeavoring to keep religion alive in the West, Rev. Mr. LaValinière labored at Kaskaskia from April, 1785, and ministered diligently to the people there and at other accessible points. The parochial residence at Cahokia had been ruined by the British and American troops, but the people erected a new one at a cost of five thousand livres. Here Mr. de St. Pierre took up his residence, and in April, 1786, reported that the faithful had begun to erect, in place of the old wooden church which had fallen, a new church, which was to cost fifteen or sixteen thousand livres, although they used all the material of the old priest's house. The marguillers proposed to sell part of the property of the Quebec Seminary once more to provide a fund for the support of a priest.[2]

About the year 1791 the Rev. Edmund Burke, an Irish priest, who was acting as professor in the Seminary of Quebec, saw with regret that no steps had been taken to revive the missions in the western country, which the hostility of the house of Bourbon to the Society of Jesus and its final

[1] His first entry as curé is July 3, 1786; his last July 6, 1796.

[2] Letter of the Marguillers of Cahokia, June 6, 1787; Cardinal Tascheau, "Notes on the Seminary of Quebec." Letter April 22, 1787.

suppression had annihilated. By the aid of Archbishop Troy of Dublin, he called the attention of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide to the wretched condition of the country on the great lakes.[1] A decree of the Propaganda was apparently given to favor a revival of the former Indian missions, Bishop Hubert having notified the Sacred Congregation of the fact that the country on the Mississippi was now subject to the Bishops of Baltimore and Louisiana.[2]

The British authorities, in their wise folly, had at first made it a positive point that the Jesuit Fathers were not to continue the Indian missions. They had now learned by experience that Catholic missionary priests among the tribes exercised the most beneficial influence on the Indians themselves, and helped greatly to attach them to government. The Rev. Mr. Burke was favorably known, and with the concurrence, if not the recommendation, of the English Governor, he was selected by Bishop Hubert to proceed to the West and carry out the views of the Propaganda. Writing to Archbishop Troy of Dublin, September 14, 1794, Rev. Mr. Burke says: "I must request your Grace will please to let Cardinal Antonelli know that a most favorable occasion of sending a missionary to the upper Country has happened,

[1] Rev. Edmund Burke to Most Rev. John Troy, December 31, 1790. "You must admit, my Lord, that teaching the catechism is a more rational employment for a priest than giving lectures on Astronomy." "I would most willingly return to the ministry. There is a vast extent of country north of the lakes, beginning at Lake Ontario and running westward to Lake Minitti and thence to the Pacific Ocean, possessed or claimed by England, in which tho' there are a great number of posts and several Indian villages whose inhabitants are Catholics, there is not, nor has there been, a single missionary since the conquest of this province." There was some exaggeration, but the real condition was bad enough. See Letter of Bishop of Quebec to Cardinal Antonelli, October 25, 1791.

[2] Bishop Hubert to Cardinal Antonelli, October 25, 1791.



Edmund Burke V. G.

PORTRAIT OF RT. REV. EDMUND BURKE, BISHOP OF SION, AND V. A. OF NOVA SCOTIA.

and the Bishop, in compliance with his Eminence's orders, has immediately appointed your humble servant. Many in the diocese would have filled the place with greater advantage."

Before the close of the year he was officiating at Raisin River, which he had been specially commissioned to attend. Here he dedicated the Church of St. Anthony of Padua.[1] Meanwhile Wayne's victory over the Miamis had caused the Indians to waver in their adherence to England. The Rev. Mr. Burke then proceeded to Fort Miami, a post erected by the British on the northwestern bank of the Maumee River, near the present site of Perrysburg. His house was on the banks of the river, within a few miles of the fort. Here he began to fit himself to direct the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies, by a study of their language, the English government, which maintained the missionary, giving him the distribution of provisions to those tribes. His ecclesiastical position he thus defines: "I'm the administrator of Upper Canada with every episcopal power except what requires the Episcopal order, yet I find a very great want of power, for here the limits of jurisdiction is uncertain and unsettled, the very parish in which I live may be a subject of dispute between the Bishop of Quebec and Baltimore, tho' it be distant 4 or 500 leagues from either; that gives me some uneasiness, as I know no jurisdiction certain but that of His Holiness. Besides Confirmation is a sacrament here totally unknown in a country, where there are some thousands of Catholics."[2] He even urged Archbishop Troy to petition the Prefect of the Propaganda to establish a mission

[1] Bishop Hubert to Cardinal Antonelli, September 15, 1794; Rt. Rev. C. P. Maes, "Notes on the Church of Monroe."

[2] Rev. Edmund Burke to Archbishop Troy, Miamis, February 2, 1795.

independent of the Bishops of Quebec, Baltimore, and Louisiana. This would have added another element of confusion; but England, which had never actually claimed the territory she held, withdrew her military occupants, and Rev. Mr. Burke retired with them. As the Propaganda declined to erect an independent jurisdiction,[1] the Rev. Mr. Burke, though he received certain powers from Rome, soon afterward withdrew to Detroit, where men, who had embraced the revolutionary principles of France, so constantly menaced his life that he had to be defended in his room at night by Indians and Canadians, and never went out unarmed. But he devoted himself to his duties, and was consoled in the Easter of 1795 to see many approach the holy table who had been strangers to it for twenty or thirty years.[2]

When the execution of Jay's treaty put an end to the occupancy of Michigan and other western points, which England had maintained in spite of the treaty of 1783, Bishop Carroll found the duty of providing priests for that

[1] Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Hubert, January 16, 1796; Bishop Hubert to V. Rev. E. Burke, October 18, 1796.

[2] Same to same, Detroit, May 20, 1795; Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," etc. He wrote from Quebec, August 17, 1796, expecting to return to the West. He was, however, stationed at Niagara in 1797, and was sent to Halifax in 1808, being the first Catholic priest permanently placed there, building a church and glebe-house. He was an able theologian and controversialist, and was a good engineer. In 1816 he visited Rome to lay before the Pope the condition of Religion in the province. He was soon after appointed Bishop of Sion and Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia, receiving episcopal consecration July 5, 1818. He lived to commence the work of organization, and died December 1, 1820, in his 78th year. He was born in Ireland, came to Canada May 16, 1787, and before going west had been curé at St Pierre and St. Laurent, Isle d'Orleans. Campbell, "History of Nova Scotia," Montreal, 1873; Tanguay, "Repertoire Général," Quebec, 1868, p. 18; Murdock, "History of Nova Scotia," iii., p. 461; Houck, "The Church in Northern Ohio," New York, 1887, pp. 204–7; Dillon, "History of Indiana," Indianapolis, 1859, p. 352.

district added to his already weighty cares. He wrote to the Bishop of Quebec to ask leave to retain the priests who had for some years been in charge at Detroit, Raisin River, Mackinac, and Niagara; but Bishop Hubert needed priests too badly to be able to spare any for parishes or missions adjudged not to belong to his diocese. He reluctantly so informed Bishop Carroll, who then appealed to the Sulpitians to supply him clergymen for those Western Catholics of their race whom he could not otherwise provide with priests. "I feel keenly," he wrote to Bishop Hubert, "the loss which these parishes will sustain in being deprived of the zealous and experienced pastors you have given them, and whom they will need more than ever in view of the efforts which will be made to corrupt their morals and their principles of faith. It was this that made me desire so ardently, that their present pastors should continue to discharge towards them the functions you have confided to them. My conscience would be relieved of an anxiety, the prospects of which alarm me. I do not think that any difficulty will be raised by the government of the United States, unless in the case of Rev. Mr. Burke, whom ill-intentioned people and especially an apostate Dominican, named Le Dru, have succeeded in imbuing some of the officers of the American troops posted near Fort Detroit, with prejudice against that priest, as one who endeavored to foment and excite in the heart of the Indians, great animosity and vengeance against these States.[1] I will do my best to remove this prejudice, and I shall readily profit by your Lordship's permission to

[1] The Hon. James McHenry wrote to Bishop Carroll: "It appears that when General Wayne was using his endeavors to induce the Indians to come in and treat, his influence was exerted to prevent them from attending." Letter, June 12, 1796.

associate him to my diocese and employ his talents and ministry." [1]

The strange confusion caused by the English occupation of Michigan may be seen in the fact that the Very Rev. Mr. Burke, on withdrawing from Detroit, wrote to Bishop Carroll to urge him to send two priests, and he offered to give faculties to them, as though Bishop Carroll had not power to give faculties in his own diocese.

We have seen the effort made through the Archbishop of Dublin to create a jurisdiction independent of Quebec, Baltimore, and Louisiana. It was not the only project of the kind. Another was actually carried out at Rome.

The Congregation de Propaganda Fide, at the very moment when the diocese of Baltimore had been erected with limits coterminous with those of the United States, was led into steps which threatened to increase confusion in the West, where order was most required.

Misled by the vast promises of Joel Barlow and a number of speculators, who got up the Scioto Company to found a colony on the banks of the river of that name, the Propaganda, April 26, 1790, gave special powers to a priest for a settlement that did not exist, and where the Company which projected it did not own a foot of land. Numbers of noblemen and others were induced to take shares in the Company, which may have intended to purchase lands. The associates induced hundreds of people to emigrate from France, the first of whom reached Alexandria in the "Patriot," May

[1] Bishop Carroll to Bishop Hubert, March 2, May 2, 1796; Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise." About the time of Bishop Carroll's consecration the French in the West, exclusive of Detroit and its dependencies, were estimated at a little over 2,000 souls; Vincennes, 1,000; Kaskaskia, 315; Cahokia, 365; Grand Ruisseau, St. Philip, and Prairie du Rocher, 240. Carey, "American Museum," ix., p. 8.

3, and "Liberty," May 6, 1790. The immigrants soon found themselves deceived, and only a few had courage or means to reach the Ohio and found a settlement at Gallipolis.[1]

Dom Peter Joseph Didier, whom the Congregation de Propaganda Fide by its decree of April 26, 1790, made Superior of the Catholics of the French colony on the banks of the Scioto, with power to communicate faculties to other priests, was a Benedictine monk of the Congregation of St. Maur, and procurator of the Abbey of St. Denis. His permission to the royal troops to quarter there in 1789 made him highly obnoxious. It was cautiously provided that the powers granted for seven years were not to be used in the diocese of any Bishop, and that as all the United States were subject to the Bishop of Baltimore, if the French colony was established in the United States Dom Didier was not to use his faculties except with the express consent of Bishop Carroll.

After reaching the settlement at Gallipolis, Dom Didier visited Baltimore and obtained Bishop Carroll's consent to use his faculties. He found the settlers little disposed to profit by his ministry. Revolutionary characters imbued the rest with prejudice against him. Dissensions ensued; Indian hostilities arose, and the settlers began to scatter. At the close of 1792, Dom Didier went to St. Louis, where he was highly esteemed and labored to the close of his life, the pioneer Benedictine in this country.

Left without a priest, the settlement at Gallipolis soon lost all coherence and dwindled away. Religion gradually faded out. Children were no longer baptized; they did not even

[1] Volney, "Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis d'Amérique," Paris, 1803, pp. 381, etc. American State Papers, Public Lands, Washington, 1834, i., p. 29; McMaster, "A History of the People of the United States," New York, 1885, ii., p. 148. "Virginia Gazette," May 6, 1790.

ask Dr. Carroll to send them a priest. On Sundays instead of prayer and Catholic instructions, meetings were held where deism and infidelity were openly advocated.[1] Such was the end of the Prefecture-Apostolic of the Scioto.

It was not really until the Sulpitians arrived in the United States, that Bishop Carroll was able to give this western portion of his diocese clergymen who, he could feel assured, would take up the work with zeal and energy. When the Bishop of Baltimore exposed the destitute condition of the French in the West and his inability to give them clergy speaking their language and familiar with their national customs, Sulpitian priests grown hoary in philosophical and theological studies, professors and directors, offered to become missionaries and act as parish priests on our remote frontiers. To all human calculation they were men unfitted for the work; in the Providence of God they were extraordinary instruments of good among the American pioneers of Kentucky and among the French of the Wabash, Detroit, and Illinois.

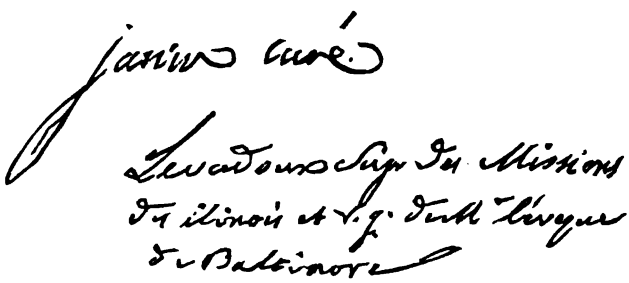
With the retirement of Rev. Peter Gibault from Kaskaskia, as well as of the Carmelite Father St. Pierre, 1792, Illinois was left without a priest to minister at the altar.

When other Sulpitians arrived in 1792 ready to enter on

[1] "Decretum Sacra Congnis Genlis de Propaganda Fide, habitæ die 26 Aprilis 1790." "Facultates concessæ a SSmo. Dno. Nro. Pio PP. VI.," April 28, 1790. "Ex audientia SSmi. Dni. Pii PP. VI. habita die 26 Aprilis 1790." Testimony of Pierre Charles Dehault de Lassus, New Orleans, April 27, 1793. Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique." Summary of Bishop Carroll's report, August 13, 1792, to the Propaganda. A Rev. Mr. Boisnantier in France told Bishop Bruté that he had been appointed Bishop of Scioto. But no such bishopric was ever proposed to the Propaganda. Rev. S. T. Badin, in 1796, described Gallipolis as containing only about eighty men who had neither religion nor morals. (Letter to Bishop Carroll, June 28, 1796.) In 1805 they had dwindled to twenty. (Dilhet, "Etat.")

the Western missions, Bishop Carroll sent the Rev. Mr. Levadoux to Kaskaskia.[1] He officiated at the old French post from February, 1793, to May, 1795; when the Rev. Gabriel Richard took charge till the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Janin, and after his departure in 1796.[2]

Rev. Mr. Lusson, whom Bishop Carroll had placed at Cahokia, in 1798, abandoned his poor parish, with a scattered flock at Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher, and crossed to St. Charles, on the Spanish side of the Mississippi. At this time the church was nearly complete, the priest's house a large building in a tolerable condition, with a good well and stable, his predecessor having effected many improvements. The trus-



SIGNATURES OF REV. MESSRS. JANIN AND LEVADOUX.

tees appealed to Bishop Carroll once more for a priest, and urgently entreated him to give them the devoted Mr. Rivet.[3]

In February, 1799, the Rev. Messrs. John and Donatien Olivier arrived in Illinois; John attended Cahokia, and his brother, Donatien, Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher. The people received them with great joy and made lavish prom-

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," i., p. 28; ii., p. 106.

[2] Registre de l'Immaculée Conception, Kaskaskia: Mr. Levadoux, December, 1792; G. Richard, February, 1793, to May, 1795; Janin, August 4, 1795, to March 27, 1796; Richard, 1797.

[3] N. Jarrot and others to Bishop Carroll, September 15, 1798.

ises to provide for their maintenance; but these were not carried out. The new pastors found that the people had lost much of their former zeal and piety; vices prevailed, and the women were extravagant, spending much on dress, on coffee and sugar, expensive luxuries in those parts.[1]

The Catholics of Vincennes had early in 1792 appealed to the Bishop for a priest, and on the 5th of June he wrote announcing that the Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget was about to proceed to their ancient post, the difficulty of travelling during the dangerous period of the Indian war, having delayed him. "With his zeal, his piety and his manners full of sweetness and charity, I am assured that he will win all hearts to Christ, and that he will confirm in you all the prin-



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. DONATIEN OLIVIER.

ciples of our holy religion. I recommend him earnestly to you; I am convinced that by your docility, and fidelity in fulfilling your duties, you will lighten the weight of his ministry, and even render their discharge consoling and gratifying to him."[2]

The future Bishop of Bardstown set out from Baltimore in a wagon for Pittsburgh in May, 1792, having reached Baltimore at the close of March. He bore a letter of introduction from Bishop Carroll to General Wayne, then gathering at Pittsburgh the army which was to retrieve the disaster of St. Clair. At that point the good priest found four sol-

[1] Rev. Mr. Olivier to Bishop Carroll, April 22, 1799; Donatien Olivier's first entry at Kaskaskia was April 19, 1799. Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," ii., p. 125.

[2] Bishop Carroll to the Catholics of Vincennes, June 5, 1792.

diers under sentence of death. Three were Catholics, and he prepared two for death; the third, a countryman of his own, obdurate in sin, refused his ministry; but the fourth, a Protestant, was received into the Church and prepared for his approaching end. Taking a flat-boat he reached Louisville, where he met Rev. Mr. Levadoux and Rev. Gabriel Richard. From this point Gen. George Rogers Clark, to whom Rev. Mr. Flaget bore a letter from General Wayne, accompained him to Vincennes.

On the 21st of December the old French post so long deprived of a priest received its new pastor. "He found the church in a sadly dilapidated state. It was a very poor log building, open to the weather, neglected and almost tottering.[1] The altar was a temporary structure of boards badly put together. He immediately set to work to repair the church, and especially to refit and decorate to the best of his power the wretched altar for the coming festival.

"The congregation was, if possible, in a still more miserable condition than the church. Out of nearly seven hundred souls of whom it was composed, the missionary was able with all his zealous efforts to induce only twelve to approach the holy communion during the Christmas festivities. His heart was filled with anguish at the spiritual desolation which brooded over the place."

He began his ministry with charity and zeal; the people were weak rather than obstinate in sin. The instructions and exhortations of the good priest soon revived religion in their

[1] The ancient grant of the church-plot was for 160 arpents. "American State Papers — Public Lands," Washington, 1834, ii., p. 456. Twenty-five years later the church was described as "sixty-eight feet long by twenty-two wide, and nine feet from the ground to the eaves. It had a kind of steeple eight feet high with a small bell." David Thomas, "Travels through the Western Country," Auburn, 1819, p. 195.

hearts. He won the hearts of the children, and his school was soon thriving; pious and promising boys eagerly learned to serve mass. The parents came back to their duties, and when the small-pox soon after broke out in the town and decimated the flock, they blessed God who had recalled them to duty and enabled them to die as children of the Church. Rev. Mr. Flaget was the temporal as well as spiritual guide; he stimulated the people to industry, opened a manual-labor school, induced better cultivation of the land by proper implements and appliances, and obtained looms.

He extended his ministry to the neighboring Miami Indians, who were also stricken by small-pox, and he baptized many on their death-beds.

Amid all these labors he was himself prostrated by disease in October, 1793, but recovering, continued his good work till he was recalled by his Superior to Baltimore, to the great regret of Bishop Carroll. At his departure he gave for the use of his successors a well-selected library of recent editions. Rev. Mr. Flaget left Vincennes toward the close of April, 1795, and reached Baltimore by way of New Orleans.[1] During his residence at Vincennes he lodged with Colonel Vigo, who had done so much for the American cause during the Revolution.

Rev. Mr. Levadoux and apparently Rev. Mr. Janin visited Vincennes for a time, till the arrival of Rev. John Francis Rivet, a priest and professor from the diocese of Limoges, who was sent by Bishop Carroll in 1796. The Bishop of Baltimore had, in 1792, addressed President Washington in regard to missions among the Indians, but at that time he

[1] Spalding, "Sketches of the Life, Time, and Character of the Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget," Louisville, 1852, pp. 29–36, 45–6; Desgeorge, "Monseigneur Flaget, Evêque de Bardstown et Louisville," Paris, 1855, pp. 9–14.

replied that it was not within the province of government. The influence exerted by the British seems, however, to have modified the views of statesmen. After the Indian war proved so disastrous, General Washington recommended to Congress the adoption of such beneficial policy toward the Indians, as would tend toward their civilization and teach them the advantages of the Christian religion. Several Catholic clergymen then offered their services, and Rev. Mr. Rivet was accepted, with a yearly allowance of about $200. Bishop Carroll says of him: "He visits the neighboring Indians and applies himself incessantly in fulfilling the objects of his appointment, and disposing them to maintain a friendly temper toward the United States. He is indefatigable in instructing them in the principles of Christianity, and not without success, which, however, would be much greater if the traders could be restrained from spoiling the fruits of his labors by the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors. In the discharge of his useful occupations, Mr. Rivet has undergone much distress. The Indians afford nothing for his subsistence; on the contrary, he is often obliged to share the little he possesses with them, or lose influence over them. This and the non-payment of his annuity for more than two-and-twenty months have reduced him to the greatest distress."[1]

From December, 1798, he acted as Vicar-General, and frequently visited the Irish soldiers at Fort Knox on the Wabash, three miles above Vincennes; as several were married, the good priest baptized and instructed their children, and when a dangerous disease broke out at the fort, he was unremitting in his attention to the sick.

[1] Bishop Carroll to Samuel Dexter, Secretary of War, Washington, September 15, 1800.

The infidel Volney, who found the Rev. Mr. Rivet at Vincennes, which he describes as a place of some fifty houses in an irregular prairie surrounded by forests, speaks of that missionary as polished, learned, high-bred, and tolerant, and praises his efforts for the education of his flock.[1] Rev. Mr. Rivet died in the winter of 1803–4. Rev. Gabriel Richard wrote: "A loss that will be felt long by the inhabitants of Vincennes, a loss perhaps irreparable, the worthy and extremely zealous Mr. Rivet is dead this last winter. He died as he had lived, excessively poor and extremely regretted by his parishioners."[2] He had been failing for some time, sinking under pulmonary disease, but he kept discharging his duty to the last. His last baptism was recorded January 31, 1804. Soon after finding death at hand, he sent to Prairie du Rocher for the Rev. Donatien Olivier, but expired in the odor of sanctity, three days before he arrived.[3]

When the English finally evacuated Michigan in 1796, the Rev. Mr. Frechette was recalled by the Bishop of Quebec, and it became necessary for Bishop Carroll to provide priests for Detroit, Raisin River, and Mackinac. He accordingly directed his Vicar-General, Rev. Mr. Levadoux, to take charge of the church at Detroit, the most important of the French settlements in the Northwest. In 1797 Rev. Mr. Levadoux induced his parishioners to revive the regulations for the parish established in other days by the Bishops of Quebec; he obtained land for a new cemetery, repaired the priest's house, and regulated the payment of tithes.

[1] Volney, "Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis," Paris, 1803, p. 400.

[2] Rev. Gabriel Richard, Detroit, May 1, 1804; Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," ii., p. 125.

[3] Rev. H. Alerding, "A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes," Indianapolis, 1883, pp. 73–5.

Rev. Gabriel Richard and Rev. John Dilhet were sent to aid him, the latter taking up his residence at Raisin River. When Rev. Mr. Levadoux was recalled in 1801 to Baltimore and then to France, Rev. Gabriel Richard became parish priest of Detroit, of which he was for many years the accomplished spiritual guide. He commuted the payment of the tithes into a subscription of $600, and executed the projected



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. GABRIEL RICHARD.

repair of the church at a cost of 1,500 livres. He employed a chanter who was also to train the altar boys. Rev. Mr. Dilhet joined him at Detroit in 1804 and opened a classical school, taking charge of the more remote missions.

He had labored earnestly at Raisin River, endeavoring to excite his flock to replace their crumbling church by a suitable edifice, but though meetings were held and promises made, nothing was done, and even the contributions pledged for his support were not paid. His parish extended from Sandusky to St. Joseph's River, on Lake Michigan, extending as far south as Fort Wayne.[1]



SIGNATURE OF BISHOP DENAUT.

Meanwhile Detroit enjoyed the presence of a Bishop. The Right Rev. Peter Denaut, Bishop of Quebec, making a visitation of the western part of his diocese, and acting under

[1] Rt. Rev. C. P. Maes, "History of the Catholic Church in Monroe City and County, Mich.," in "U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.," ii., p. 113.

powers from Dr. Carroll, crossed the frontier where necessary to administer confirmation. He came to Detroit in 1800



PORTRAIT OF REV. GABRIEL RICHARD, FROM A CONTEMPORANEOUS PRINT.

and conferred the sacrament on all who had been prepared to receive it at Detroit, Raisin River,[1] and other points.

The ancient mission of Michilimackinac was also an object of care. The Very Rev. Mr. Levadoux spent several weeks there in the summer of 1796; the Rev. Gabriel Richard fol-

[1] He was at Raisin River June 18, 1801.

lowed, arriving there June 3, 1799, and set to work with his usual energy to put the church and priest's house in repair, and make the cemetery worthy of the name. He extended his labors to Sault Ste. Marie and Arbre Croche, but was recalled to Detroit. He was followed by Rev. Mr. Dilhet, who instructed the people for several weeks, baptizing, marrying, and confessing. The number who approached the sacraments showed the effects of his zeal. He appointed new trustees to keep all things in order, and being recalled to Baltimore soon after, took an earnest appeal from the people for a resident priest.[1]

As the Sovereign Pontiff continued to suffer at the hands of France, Bishop Carroll in 1798 ordered every priest to



SIGNATURE OF REV. JOHN DILHET.

pray in an especial manner for the venerable Pope, Pius VI., during six successive months.

When the arrogant conduct of France made war almost inevitable, President Adams appointed the 9th of May, 1798, as a day of fasting and prayer to avert from the country the miseries of war. The day was generally observed in the Catholic churches, and two sermons then delivered were printed.[2]

While Bishop Carroll was consoled by this revival of the faith in the West, he saw Catholicity gaining in Virginia,

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," ii., pp. 105–121.

[2] "A Discourse delivered at the Roman Catholic Church in Boston, on the 9th of May, 1798, a day recommended by the President for humiliation and prayer throughout the United States. By the Reverend John Thayer, Catholic Missioner." Boston, 1798. "A Sermon preached on the ninth day of May, 1798, observed as a day of fasting and prayer to implore the divine aid and protection in favor of the United States. By

though its progress was hampered by difficulties. Rev. John Du Bois began the mission at Richmond in 1791, and officiated in a room in the Capitol, which served also for Episcopalians and Presbyterians, but after he removed to Maryland, the Catholics enjoyed only rare visits from priests; and no effort was made to rear a church or chapel.

In June, 1811, Rev. Mr. Miguel, who had been a canon of Toulouse, but had joined the Fathers of the Faith under Father Rozaven, where he was known as Father Xavier, arrived at Baltimore, and being well known to Rev. Mr. Nagot, whose pupil he had been, was accepted by Archbishop Carroll and sent to Richmond. He attended the Catholics there for some time in private houses or in rooms temporarily rented for the purpose.[1]

The Rev. James Michael Bushe had begun the erection of a church at Norfolk, but there were trustees there who claimed all control. When the Very Rev. Leonard Neale was sent to that place in 1799, he was disquieted by the scenes he witnessed at an election of trustees and their opposition to their pastor. He urged them earnestly to lay aside all such feelings and to unite heartily in completing the church which they had begun.[2]

The Rev. Michael Lacy, who was at Norfolk in 1803, found a flock of less than forty families, a debt on the

the Reverend S. F. O'Gallagher, Catholic Priest of Charleston." Charleston [1798].

[1] Hon. E. M. Kelley, "Memoranda of the History of the Catholic Church, Richmond, Va.," in Proceedings 4th Ann. Conv. of C. B. U. of Va., Norfolk, 1874. Rev. X. Miguel left Richmond about 1813, and in May of the following year returned to Europe to proceed to the missions in China. Bishop Bruté.

[2] Very Rev. L. Neale to Messrs. Plume and others, June 25, 1799; Wm. Charles Lee and others to Bishop Carroll, December 1, 1801; Rev. J. M. Bushe to same, November 26, 1801.

church of $600, the fence around the church and graveyard already falling to decay, no residence for a clergymen, the adults indifferent to their Christian duties, so that he could effect good mainly by catechizing the children.

He visited Baltimore and obtained from generous Catholics there and elsewhere means to improve the church, which he directed zealously till his death in 1815.

Alexandria had a log structure near the corner of Princess and Royal Streets, which was the Catholic chapel and residence of a priest, according to what is regarded as a well-founded tradition; but the name of the clergyman and the time of his ministration are unknown.

Hearing from Colonel Fitzgerald that a gentleman of Alexandria would grant a lot of ground to the Catholics sufficient for the building of a house of worship, provided a proper application was made, Bishop Carroll addressed a letter, saying: "In this state of the business after expressing as far as I am able my utmost gratitude for so favorable a disposition, I take the liberty of requesting that kindness in behalf of the Society, whose welfare is committed to my care. Their and my best acknowledgements will testify our grateful sense of so distinguished a favor, and we shall deem it our duty, in return to promote by our best endeavors the increase and prosperity of a town which has so close a connexion with the interests of our generous benefactor."

The letter of Bishop Carroll induced the gentleman to give the Catholic congregation a half-acre lot; and when the Bishop gave confirmation there on Sunday, July 3, 1796, the Catholics were burning brick and laying the foundation of the new church.[1] On it Rev. Francis Neale, who attended Alex-

[1] Rev. Michael Lacy to Bp. Carroll, August 24, 1803. Bishop Carroll to ————, Alexandria, July 11, 1793. Same to Rev. J. Thayer, July 5, 1796.

andria from Georgetown, erected a square brick building, the site being in the northwest corner of the present cemetery. This church was used for several years, but was never completed, and was finally abandoned as too remote from the city and the homes of the Catholics. This church was apparently under the direction of Rev. Mr. Neale and attended generally from Georgetown. Rev. Mr. Eden became resident pastor about 1804, and Rev. Mr. Gousy is mentioned as in charge of the Catholics of Alexandria in 1805. About four or five years after that date, Rev. Mr. Neale purchased for $900 a Methodist meeting-house on Chapel Alley, the money being raised by subscription. Here, chiefly by the pious bequest of Mr. Ignace Junigal, a church and tower were erected.[1]

As we have seen, the Rev. Mr. Thayer was at Alexandria in 1794, but did not remain.[2]

In 1798 Bishop Carroll extended his visitation to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and also to Elizabethtown, twenty-five miles distant, where Father Farmer had founded in 1752 the mission of St. Peter. The Catholics here soon reared a log church on the farm belonging to Henry Echenroth. In this the faithful worshipped till Rev. Louis de Barth took charge of the mission. The congregation had increased by this time to about two hundred souls, and in 1796 Rev. Mr. de Barth secured a site for a church within the town limits. He then undertook to collect funds to erect the sacred edifice. The visit of the Bishop reanimated the faithful and they proceeded energetically with the work. On the 10th of July Bishop Carroll conferred the sacraments of baptism and confirmation at St. Peter's. John Egle, one of those confirmed

[1] Carna, "A Brief Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Va.," in Proceedings 4th Ann. Conv. of C. B. U. of Va., Norfolk, 1874; W. L., xiv., p. 97.

[2] Bp. Carroll to Rev. J. Thayer, July 15, 1794.

that day by the founder of the American hierarchy, was born in 1786, and lived to our days, dying on the 11th of October, 1881, his aged eyes beholding the original diocese divided and subdivided, till the hierarchy numbered fourteen archbishops and fifty-five bishops, and holy mass was said throughout the land in more than six thousand churches and chapels by as many priests.

The corner-stone of the new church was laid May 30, 1799, and though in time it proved inadequate to the wants of the Catholic body, the old shrine was respected, and an addition made.[1]

Bishop Carroll made another visit to Pennsylvania in the following year, as he wrote from Conewago in September.

On the death of General Washington in 1799, the Bishop issued a circular to his clergy in regard to the celebration of the 22d of February as a day of mourning, giving directions for such action as would be in conformity with the spirit of the Church, while attesting to the country the sorrow and regret experienced by Catholics at the great national loss. It has been made a question by some whether Washington died a Catholic, but Bishop Carroll certainly had no suspicion that such was the case, for he compares him to "the young Emperor Valentinian, who was deprived of life before his initiation into our church." His own discourse, delivered on the occasion in his pro-cathedral, was regarded by all who heard it, as well as by those who read it in print, as one of the most masterly uttered on that day. Robert Walsh, a scholar of fine literary taste, says of it: "We have heard

[1] Letters from S. M. Sener, Esq., who has also kindly furnished a copy of an old picture of the church. The Register begun by Rev. Mr. de Barth in 1795 is still preserved. The addition to the original church was made by Rev. M. Curran in 1884.

from some of the most intelligent and observant of his auditors, when he delivered his masterly funeral panegyric on Washington, in which he recited the terrors, the encouragements, the distresses and the glories of the struggle for independence, that he appeared to be laboring under intense emotions correspondent to these topics—to be swayed like the ancient minstrel of the poet, with contagious influences, by the varied strains which he uttered." [1]



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ELIZABETHTOWN, PA.

The esteem and regard entertained by Bishop Carroll for Washington are shown not only in the discourse delivered after his death, but appear frequently in his correspondence. Writing to Archbishop Troy in 1794, he alluded to the

[1] Circular of Bishop Carroll to his Clergy on the Death of Washington, December 29, 1799. "A Discourse on George Washington; delivered in the Catholic Church of St. Peter, in Baltimore, February 22, 1800. By the Right Rev. Bishop Carroll." Baltimore: Printed by Warner & Hanna. An oration delivered at Albany on the occasion, by Rev. Dr. Matthew O'Brien, is reprinted in "U. S. Catholic Hist. Mag.," i., p. 187.

machinations of French revolutionary agents in the United States, and said: "To oppose the mischief meditated by, and fomented through the machinations of these societies, we stand in need of the firmness, the undaunted courage, the personal influence and consummate prudence of that wonderful man, our President Washington. It is impossible for a person not thoroughly acquainted with our situation, to know how much depends, at this time, on one man for the happiness of millions." [1]

The next year the country was again menaced by that terrible scourge, the yellow fever, which had already swept so many away. Bishop Carroll looked with alarm at his little band of clergy, already so disproportioned to the work before them.

Of the missions in New Jersey, at this time mainly attended from Philadelphia and New York, we find few indications. The mission at Trenton was attended in October, 1799, by Rev. D. Boury, who in 1802 received into the church Cornelius Tiers, a native of New York State, who became a firm and active Catholic.[2] Bishop Carroll, as we shall hereafter see, was called to Trenton by troubles in the congregation there in 1803. About this time Catholics seem to have met at the corner of Queen and Second Streets.[3]

[1] Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy, July 19, 1794.

[2] Woodstock Letters, ii., pp. 178–4.

[3] Raum, "History of the City of Trenton," Trenton, 1871. p. 134.

CHAPTER II.

RIGHT REV. JOHN CARROLL, BISHOP OF BALTIMORE—RIGHT REV. LEONARD NEALE, COADJUTOR, 1800–1806.

ALTHOUGH the Rev. Leonard Neale had been elected by the Holy See as coadjutor to Bishop Carroll, the bulls dispatched at that time, and subsequently in duplicate, never reached the hands of Dr. Carroll. In January, 1800, they were forwarded, for the third time, from Venice by Cardinal Stephen Borgia, and were received at Baltimore in the summer.

It was at first proposed to fix the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin for the ceremony of consecration, but the yellow fever again broke out, and the clergy, who would have been summoned to take part in the ceremonies, were called to face death in the discharge of their sacred ministry. Bishop Carroll viewed with alarm the danger to which they were exposed. In a pastoral to his flock, he said: "It is not possible for religion to bear in its present state in our country a continuation of such heavy losses. The number of clergymen is so reduced that many numerous congregations are deprived of all spiritual assistance." If his zealous priests were cut down there would be but few to minister to those subsequently prostrated by the disease. He therefore urged on all Catholics to prepare themselves for death by approaching the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist; that, as the disease spread, the priest might be free to visit those who in health were unable to avail themselves of

his ministry, in preference to those who had neglected the advantages they enjoyed.

The clergy were on their side anxious as to the safety of their Bishop, on whose life the succession of the episcopate depended, while Dr. Neale remained unconsecrated. He was absent from Baltimore when the fever broke out, and his priests urged him earnestly not to return. "I submit to their opinion," he wrote, "though I suffer perhaps much greater anxiety by my absence, than I should at home. We have lost already since 1793, the first epoch of that dreadful disorder in Philadelphia, eight of our best clergymen."[1]

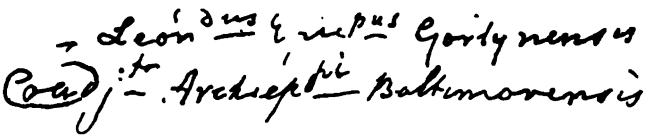
When cooler weather approached, the eve of the feast of the Immaculate Conception was appointed for the consecration—the first time the sacred rite was to be performed in this country. On the day fixed, the Rev. Leonard Neale was consecrated by the Right Rev. Dr. Carroll, in his pro-cathedral, Bishop of Gortyna, in the province of Candia, the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Nagot, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and the Rev. Francis Beeston, rector of St. Peter's Church, acting as assistants. All possible pomp was given to the imposing ceremony, which attracted numbers to the sacred edifice.[2]

[1] Bishop Carroll to Rev. Charles Plowden, Washington, September 8, 1800. "Address to the Congregation of Baltimore," August 26, 1800.

[2] The certificate of Bishop Neale's consecration preserved at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, is as follows:

"1800. Die 7ª Decembris anni reparatæ salutis 1800 in Ecclesia Catholica Sⁱ Petri ad urbem Baltimorensem post lecta publice brevia Pontificia Sⁱ Pontificis Pii 6, fel. mem. quorum uno R Dⁿˢ Leonardus Neale in hac Diœcesi Baltimorensi sacerdos, ad Episcopalem Cathedram Gortynensem in partibus infidelium, promotus fuit; et in altero, idem Rᵐˢ Leonardus Neale constitutus est Coadjutor Episcopi Baltimorensis cum jure successionis in ejusdem Episcopi sedem, quam primum hæc vacaverit, solemniter consecrationem episcopalem accepit idem R. D. Leonardus Neale. Consecratus autem est a me infrascripto, Episcopo Baltimorensi, assisten-

Dr. Neale had been, for more than a year, President of Georgetown College, and he continued to fill that position for some time, while acting as Vicar-General of Bishop Car-



SIGNATURE OF RT. REV. LEONARD NEALE, D.D., BISHOP OF GORTYNA, AND COADJUTOR OF BALTIMORE.

roll, visiting many congregations in Maryland and Virginia. He also devoted himself to the formation, into a regular religious community, of the Pious Ladies, under Miss Alice Lalor, and the establishment of their Academy.

In 1801 the Rev. Father Michael Egan, a Reformed Franciscan of the Irish Province, who had been prior of the great convent of St. Isidore, in Rome, and then for seven years on the mission in Ireland, was invited over by the Lancaster congregation. This excellent religious soon won the hearts of his people; but devoid of ambition, sought only to serve as assistant to Rev. Mr. de Barth.

In 1803 he petitioned for the erection of a province of his order in the United States, his request being supported by the hearty approval of Bishop Carroll. A decree to that effect was actually made in the summer of 1804 by Archbishop Valentini, Minister-General of the Seraphic order, and by the Sovereign Pontiff. There was thus a well-grounded hope that the Reformed Franciscans would create

tibus ex Indulto Pontificio duobus sacerdotibus, R^do^ Domino Francisco Beeston, Parocho et Rectore Ecclesiæ S^ti^ Petri, Baltimori et R. D^o^ Carolo F. Nagot, præside Seminarii S^ti^ Sulpitii in eadem urbe.

"In quorum fidem hæc manu mea subscripsi.

"✠ JOANNES, Epus Balt^ae^."

a body to labor in the United States, as they had done in former days in Canada, Florida, and Maryland. Unfortunately no Fathers of the order came to join Father Egan, and nothing more was done.[1]

After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the Rev. Nicholas Paccanari founded at Rome in August, 1797, "The Society of the Faith of Jesus," intending to revive the rule and spirit of Saint Ignatius. Pope Pius VI. encouraged his undertaking, and a similar association, "The Society of the Sacred Heart," founded in Germany, united with his institute in 1799.[2]

Father Paccanari was anxious to extend his congregation to America, and wrote to Bishop Carroll on the point. The Bishop of Baltimore explained to him the position of the Church in the United States, and its wants. After mentioning the establishment of Georgetown College, he said: "This College needs professors of philosophy. Therefore, if one or two can be sent very well versed in philosophy, and especially in natural philosophy and mathematics, and not ignorant of English, the President of the College will give them a hearty welcome, and thus perhaps the way will be opened for you to render some new service to religion here. The President of the College will arrange with Rev. Father Strickland in regard to paying the travelling expenses. I have already said that I wished two or three good priests to be sent as soon as possible into this vineyard of the Lord, men of prudence, religious virtues, and of the best disposition. There are many Germans among us, and all have not pastors, and those they have are not in all cases such as they

[1] Petition of F. Michael Egan, O.S.F., in 1808; Letters to Bishop Carroll from Rome, June 28, September 29, 1804; Rev. M. Egan to Bishop Carroll.

[2] Guidée, "Vie du R. P. Joseph Varin," Paris, 1854, pp. 48, etc.

should be. If priests of the nation are sent, I will station them among their own countrymen, so that while they are caring for their salvation they may also learn our language, without which no one can be long employed here usefully. As to the female religious community, there are three women here at Georgetown, where the College is, all ready and filled with great desire of embracing the rule of the Society of the Faith of Jesus; one of these is a virgin, the two others, widows of middle age. They have long lived a community life, after the pattern of regular observance, earnestly desiring, as far as the condition of their sex allows, to conform to the rule of St. Ignatius. They conduct a school for girls, which they direct with remarkable commendation and piety. Now if you can send a few ladies of your institute of suitable age, prudence, and experience in teaching young ladies, who are either English or familiar with the English language and customs, they can with those whom I have mentioned, lay the foundation of a most beneficial convent of nuns." [1]

About the same time Fathers de Broglie and Rozaven wrote to the priests in Maryland, who had belonged to the Society of Jesus, inviting them to enter the Society of the Faith of Jesus. Several met and sent a reply expressive of a desire to take the step, but Bishop Carroll, who was extremely cautious, considered their action unwise and precipitate, as their knowledge of the new organization was limited, and their old associates of the English province in Europe had held aloof.[2]

The first of the Fathers of the Faith who reached this country was the Rev. Nicholas Zocchi, who was sent to Can-

[1] Bishop Carroll to F. Nicholas Paccanari, Georgetown, October 27, 1800.

[2] Same to Rev. Charles Plowden, Baltimore, December 15, 1800.

ada, but finding that the English government would not permit him to remain, came to Baltimore.[1]

The attempt to induce the Ladies of the Sacred Heart to send over a colony to found a community, into which Miss Alice Lalor and her companions might be received, failed, and the "Pious Ladies" continued their good work at Georgetown in hope.

Some years after Bishop Carroll, hearing that the Rev. Dr. Betagh, of Dublin, was the director of a convent of religious women in Dublin, wrote to that gentleman, who had, like himself, been a member of the Society of Jesus till its suppression.

"My coadjutor," he wrote, "the Rt. Rev. Bishop Neale, has formed under the conduct of four or five very pious Ladies, a female Academy at Georgetown, and has acquired for them a handsome property of lots and houses. These ladies, long trained to all the exercises of an interior and religious life, are exceedingly anxious to bind themselves more closely to God by entering into an approved religious order, whose institute embraces the education of young persons of their own sex, poor and rich. Mr. Byrne and others have given information here of your having under your care a house of religious women, whose useful and exemplary conduct has gained general esteem and confidence. Now the prayer of Bishop Neale and, I may add mine, too, is this: that you would choose and if possible, engage two of those Ladies, fully approved by you, to leave their country and sisters and friends to establish here a house of their order. One of them ought to be fit to become immediately the superior and mistress of novices, and the other to preside in the female academy. The two principal ladies of this insti-

[1] Bishop Carroll to Rev. Charles Plowden, February 12, 1808.

tution are natives of Ireland, and both women of exemplary and even perfect lives. I know not whether one of them, whose name is Lawler, be not known to you. Bishop Neale hopes that Mr. Byrne will return and take them under his care; and he will be answerable for all their expenses."[1]

This project also failed, Providence guiding the little community to adopt the rule of the Visitation Nuns, founded by Saint Francis de Sales and Saint Jane Frances de Chantal.

When Spain relinquished to the United States Natchez and the district which she had captured from England, and which of course that country could not convey to the United States by the treaty of 1783, the old French town, which had been regarded from its foundation as part of Louisiana, was finally severed from it and became part of the United States. It was thenceforth regarded as belonging to the diocese of Baltimore. Property at Natchez and Villa Gayoso for divine worship had been purchased by the Spanish government and was held as a trust for the Catholic Church, but unfortunately the Spanish officials did not acquire a perfect title to the church lands, or place in the hands of the Bishop of Louisiana such documentary evidence as would have removed all doubt.

Bishop Peñalver of the Louisiana diocese had kindly offered to continue for a time the direction of the Catholics in those parts, and the Rev. Mr. Lennan visited them from Pointe Coupée. In 1799 Bishop Carroll received a petition for a priest from Colonel Daniel Clark, Captain William Vousdan, William Scott, Peter Walker, Brian Bruin, and Antonio Gras, earnestly soliciting a priest, to whom they promised a salary of $800. Their request was supported by

[1] Bishop Carroll to Rev. Dr. Betagh, July 14, 1805; Woodstock Letters, xii., p. 288.

General Wilkinson, and Bishop Carroll, finding that the Rev. Matthew O'Brien was not satisfied at Albany, proposed to him to accept the mission at Natchez.[1]

In 1801 the Catholics of Natchez again solicited a priest, but their numbers had greatly diminished; some had died, others had removed from the district, so that there were scarcely ten families left at Natchez, and only two in easy circumstances.[2] But Col. Vousdan offered a home and board to a priest, as the Catholics there did not wish to depend on the Louisiana clergy. He wished a learned, eloquent clergyman, and ended his letter by proposing to allow a Protestant minister to officiate in the church![3]

The Bishop replied: "You are desirous of allowing the use of the Catholic church to a Protestant minister, but prudently withheld your consent till you heard from me. I am against the concession. As far as civil toleration goes and an allowance to every denomination freely to pursue their mode of worship, no one has a fuller persuasion than myself of its consonancy with the laws of God. But as one only religion is from him those things that are immediately consecrated to his honor, as churches and the implements of his worship, are not to be diverted to other contrary uses, and whenever this was allowed or rather suffered by good Bishops, it was either a sacrifice to necessity or as a means to prevent heavier disasters to the people of God. Of this the history of the great Saint Ambrose furnishes a memorable example. Catholic churches are dedicated to God for the

[1] Bishop Carroll to Rev. M. O'Brien, September 28, 1799.

[2] Yet in 1792 a traveller spoke of Natchez as a place of 400 houses. "A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North America, the Spanish Dominions," etc., Richmond, 1792, p. 80.

[3] William Vousdan to Bishop Carroll, May 24, 1801.

purpose of the most adorable sacrifice of the law of grace, and many august prayers and ceremonies consecrated by their antiquity, are used for their sanctification. After this would it be justifiable to make an altar and church resound with doctrines reviling and reprobating that holy sacrifice and all the rites of our religion? Would not those holy places be profaned and the character of sanctity acquired by their consecration be effaced by their becoming the seminaries of error and false doctrines?"

He therefore disapproved absolutely of any such use of the church at Natchez, which is described as very large, with an altar and pulpit far apart.[1]

Up to this time the Catholics had remained in undisturbed possession of the two churches at Natchez and Villa Gayoso, and though the title had passed to the United States they did not consider that our government would ignore the trust or wrong those for whom it was held.

A law of Congress required all land claims to be presented to a commissioner before the last day of March, 1804, and by a subsequent provision this term was extended to the last day of November.[2]

Meanwhile a former owner of the church property at Natchez presented a claim for the property, which was recognized by the United States government. The Catholics of Natchez, to save their church, accordingly found it necessary to pay $500, in order to obtain from this claimant a deed for "the ground on which the Roman Catholic chapel now stands in the town of Natchez aforesaid, with twenty feet on the two sides, and twenty feet behind. Also the lot in said town which has been used as a Roman Catholic burying-ground."

[1] Bishop Carroll to William Vousdan, September 10, 1801.

[2] American State Papers (Public Lands), Washington, 1832, pp. 594-

Yet even after thus purchasing back their own property the little Catholic congregation was not safe.[1]

When Winthrop Sargent came as governor, "he had serious thoughts of seizing the Catholic church building and converting it into a court-house, but said it might hurt the feelings of about a dozen Catholic families, and give offense to the King of Spain, who had it built."[2]

Even the petty portion of the 300 arpents bestowed by the Spanish government on the church was not left to the Catholics in peace. Constant litigations were brought against them, and after Natchez became a bishop's see, the burying-ground was wrested from the church by the city authorities.[3]

The Catholic body, though steadily decreasing, was visited from time to time by priests of Louisiana diocese. Among these may especially be named Rev. Henry Boutin, parish priest of the Ascension at La Fourche. He reached Natchez after Vousdan's death, and the priest soon found that there was no one there able or willing to aid in supporting the church or a clergyman. There were only a few poor Spaniards, who showed no interest in religion, with some Irish families, scattered through the territory. In fact all who cared for their religion had gone to places where they could practice it.[4]

[1] Deed of William Borland to Catholic Congregation, January 7, 1802. Mr. Vousdan, an Irish Catholic who had been Surveyor under the Spanish government, acted for the Catholics. Rt. Rev. F. Janssens, "Sketch of the Catholic Church in the City of Natchez, Miss.," Natchez, 1886, pp. 14–15; Letter of same, November 26, 1887; Documents in American Catholic Historical Researches, iv., pp. 147, etc.; Clarke, "Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church," New York, 1872, ii., pp. 178, etc.

[2] Claiborne, "Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State," Jackson, 1880, pp. 148, 208.

[3] Bishop Janssens, "Sketch," etc., pp. 15–6.

[4] Rev. Henry Boutin to Bishop Carroll, Natchez, January 4, 1803. This

In 1803 Bishop Carroll made another visitation to New England. On the 8th of September he wrote: "Next Monday the 12th I will leave this (Philadelphia) for the neighborhood of New York. The devil is always busy to raise obstacles in my way; he or his agent has made a disturbance at Trenton, where I did not expect any business, which will, perhaps, cause me some delay, so that I do not expect to cross Hobuck ferry before Wednesday." What an affair of magnitude the journey was in those days will be seen by the following letter to James Barry, Esq., a devoted Catholic gentleman then residing at New York, but who had previously been at Washington, where Bishop Carroll formed for him and his family the warmest and most cordial attachment, fully merited by their pious and edifying lives.

"BALTIMORE, August 25th, 1803.

"DEAR AND MUCH HON'D SIR

"Your favor of the 19th. which I received Yesterday affected me so variously, that I forgot that I might have answered it by the return of the mail. D^{r}. Matignon has concluded finally to fix the ceremony on the 29th of September, Michaelmass day; so that by leaving this in the beginning of Sep^{t}.. I shall have time to be at Boston some days previous to the opening of the Church; as it is adviseable, perhaps necessary for me to be.

"The route you have traced for me, is many respects such, as I would like; but I fear, that it is liable to inconveniences, with respect to the transportation of my baggage, which will be considerable, on account of the Pontificalia

zealous priest was drowned in the Mississippi and his body was buried in the parish of the Assumption. Rev. John Olivier to Bishop Carroll, April 22, 1811.

necessary for the occasion; and likewise the inconvenience of disposing of my horses; whereas by another route, pointed out to me, I shall avoid those disadvantages. I am advised to go to Hoebucks ferry, two miles above Powles Hook; to cross over in a boat always ready, to the wharf of the new state prison, and to follow the road to the two mile stone; near which I and my horses will be provided for by M^{r}. Andrew Morris; having his Country house there. Thence he promises to me a conveyance to some town on East River, where I shall find packets for Rhode Island & Providence.—Now my plan was to engage some Vessel to take me from the N. River to the Narrows; and there to concert with you my further progress, the manner and direction of which will depend on the Circumstances of being blessed with your good company on the Way, or otherwise—If not, I might easily return to M^{r} Morris's—running by N. York—Thus I should have likewise an opportunity of seeing one, or both of the Mess^{rs}. O'Brien. At all events, I must see you; and when my time for being at Elizabeth Town is ascertained, I will write from this place to you, or from Phil^{a}.

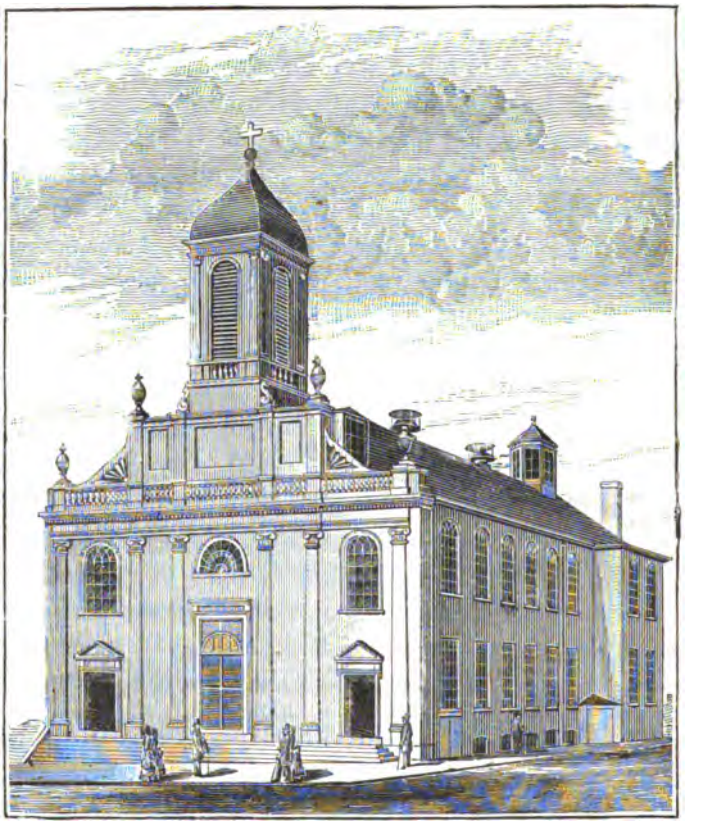
"D^{r} Sir, ever y^{rs}.



He reached Boston, however, before the end of the month in spite of the delays. The Church of the Holy Cross which Rev. Messrs. Matignon and Cheverus had erected on Franklin Square at a cost of more than twenty thousand dollars, was of Ionic order, sixty feet wide by eighty in depth. The Bishop dedicated it on the 29th of September with all the solemnity of the ritual.

Bishop Carroll's visit to New England made a deep impression. The Rev. Mr. Cheverus had been earnestly in-

vited to return to France, and Rev. Mr. Matignon feared that he might lose his aid: but Bishop Carroll seems to have won him completely. After returning to his episcopal city



CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS, BOSTON, DEDICATED BY BISHOP CARROLL IN 1803.

the Bishop addressed Rev. Mr. Cheverus, who wrote: "All you have mentioned, and many others here and in Newcastle, remember and will never forget the zeal, the amiable condescension of our beloved and venerable prelate. They

all beg to be remembered to him as his dutiful and affectionate children." [1]

While in Boston, Bishop Carroll learned of the fruitful labors of Rev. Mr. Romagné among the Indians in the District of Maine.

After his return from his visitation to New England, Bishop Carroll reluctantly officiated at a marriage which aroused the ire of the First Consul of the French Republic soon to become Emperor of France. This was the marriage of his brother Jerome Bonaparte to Miss Patterson, of Baltimore. The record of the marriage in the handwriting of the Bishop himself reads:

"BALTIMORE, December 24th. 1803.

"With license, I this day joined in holy matrimony, according to the rites of the holy Catholic Church, Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the First Consul of France, and Elizabeth Patterson, daughter of William Patterson, Esq., of the City of Baltimore, and his wife.

"✠ JOHN, Bishop of Baltimore."

Writing to his friend James Barry, Bishop Carroll said: "You will have heard before this, of my having officiated in uniting Jerome Bonaparte to Miss Patterson, on Saturday. I wish well to the young lady, but cannot help fearing, that she may not find all the comforts hereafter, which she promises herself." [2]

Rev. John Du Bois, after commencing his labors in Virginia at Richmond, was placed at Frederick, from which he

[1] Bishop Carroll to James Barry, Philadelphia, September 8, 1803.

[2] De Courcy, "Catholic Church in the United States," New York, 1856, p. 552; Bishop Carroll to James Barry, December 26, 1803.

made missionary excursions to Virginia and Pennsylvania. Rev. Mr. Zocchi in 1805 had succeeded Prince Gallitzin at Taneytown, which by this time had a fine church and house. Winchester was one of his missions, and there, too, he erected a church; many Catholic farmers living at the time in the neighboring parts of the valley. Protestants joined with



RESIDENCE AND CHURCH AT PORT TOBACCO, MD.

Catholics in the good work, laying aside the fanaticism which had imbued the people of the Old Dominion. Carlisle, in Cumberland County, was also attended by him.

The Rev. Mr. Duhamel, who, after being Director of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost at Paris, became a missionary in South America, was for years missionary at Hagarstown.

The northern tier of counties in Maryland from Deer Creek to Cumberland were thus dotted with churches.

On the Eastern Shore Rev. Mr. Pasquier at Bohemia, succeeding Rev. A. Maréchal; Rev. Mr. Durosier, a priest from St. Domingo, at St. Mary's, and Rev. Mr. Monely at St. Joseph's, cultivated the missions planted there in early days by the Jesuit Fathers.

Rev. Mr. Bitouzey was at Whitemarsh; Rev. Mr. Lacy, an Irish priest, at Norfolk and Portsmouth; Rev. Mr. Jouly, at Alexandria.[1]

When the College was commenced at Georgetown, the question of founding a city to be the capital of the United States had already been frequently discussed, and as early as October 7, 1783, a site near Georgetown had been suggested by Elbridge Gerry, and after much wavering and discussion the District of Columbia, comprising ten miles square in Maryland and Virginia, was decided upon by acts of Congress in 1790 and 1791.[2]

Georgetown was included in the District of Columbia, and from its proximity to the future capital could anticipate a prosperous future. The Catholics in that part of Maryland had hitherto depended mainly on the chapel of the Young family, but a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity was erected in Georgetown and nearly completed in 1792.[3] The original structure has since been replaced by a second building, venerable enough in appearance to date with our earliest churches.[4]

When the city of Washington was laid out by Major L'En-

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise."

[2] Varnum, "The Seat of Government of the United States," Washington, 1854.

[3] Letter of Rev. Father Neale in 1792.

[4] The old Catholic cemetery contained tombstones dating back to 1762 and 1764, which were removed with the remains they designated to the cemetery near the College Walks. Letter of Father S. A. Kelly, S.J.

fant, himself a Catholic, there was of course but a small population, and Government to attract others offered inducements to induce the erection of churches and institutions.

Bishop Carroll's brother Daniel had his mansion within the present city of Washington, and he was one of the commissioners appointed to lay out the Federal District. It was



PICTURE OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, GEORGETOWN, D.C.

thus very naturally a spot to which Dr. Carroll made frequent visits, especially in summer, and besides his own relatives and the Youngs, it soon became the residence of Mr. James Barry, to whose family he became strongly attached.[1]

An application was made to the commissioners for a site

[1] Mr. Barry's residence is now the Union Hotel, Bridge Street, Georgetown.

for a Catholic church,[1] and an edifice was projected suited rather to the future greatness of the National Capital than the actual requirements of the Catholics in Washington or the means their limited number could furnish.

Two lots in square 376 were purchased April 17, 1794, for £80, and an additional lot soon after by the Rev. Anthony Caffrey, to whom the commissioners conveyed them.[2] Here a church dedicated to Saint Patrick was soon begun, and remained under the care of Rev. Mr. Caffrey till 1805, when he returned to Ireland, where he soon after died. He was succeeded at St. Patrick's church by the Rev. William Matthews, who remained in the pastorship of this pioneer Washington church for nearly fifty years, doing much to encourage education among his flock.

The worthy Mr. Barry had already erected St. Mary's church, long known as Barry's chapel, for the use of the Catholics residing around Greenleaf's Point, near the present Navy Yard.[3]

Other benefactors were Daniel Carroll of Dudington, who gave Dr. Carroll a piece of land in St. Peter's parish long known as the Cathedral lot, and Nicholas Young, who bestowed a whole square for a cemetery for the same parish.[4]

Frederic the Great had, at the time of the Brief of Pope Clement XIV. suppressing the Society of Jesus, forbidden

[1] Commissioners to Bishop Carroll and his note to James Barry, September 19, 1801.

[2] Gustavus Scott and William Thornton, Commissioners, to Rev. Anthony Caffrey, February 8, 1798. They were conveyed to Bishop Carroll September 10, 1804.

[3] The corner-stone of this church was placed in the present St Dominic's chapel.

[4] Letters of Rev. J. A. Walter. Memorandum of Archbishop Maréchal.

the Catholic Bishops to publish it in his dominions. The Empress Catharine of Russia followed the same policy and maintained the order. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus made known their position to Pope Clement himself, who, actuated by no enmity to the order, authorized them to continue their former life under the rule of Saint Ignatius.

Pope Pius VI. continued the favor of his predecessor to this remnant of the once flourishing Society, and finally issued a decree investing the Bishop of Mohilow with jurisdiction over all the religious orders in his diocese. Under this authority the Jesuits in Russia opened a novitiate. King Charles III. of Spain wrote to the Empress to complain, but she replied that the Jesuits were necessary for her Catholic subjects, and the Bishop of Mohilow acted under her positive orders. The Society took new life. Houses and colleges increased, and in 1782 Catharine authorized the members of the Society to elect a general Superior. All these steps met the approval of the Sovereign Pontiff.

On the accession of Pope Pius VII. to the Chair of Peter, the Emperor Paul of Russia wrote soliciting a formal approbation of the Institute. The Pope submitted the question to a commission of four Cardinals, who advised its approval for Russia only. The bull of Pius VII., "Catholicæ Fidei," on the 7th of March, 1801, fully recognized and re-established the Society in that Empire.

The tidings of these acts filled the hearts of the priests in America who had belonged to the Society with consolation and joy; but also with a yearning to enjoy the favors accorded to their brethren in Russia.

Their case, however, was different. The Brief of Pope Clement XIV. had been published by the Vicars-Apostolic of England, and, as we have seen, each Jesuit of the English province in Europe and America had been required to sign

his absolute submission to it. The Jesuits of the English province now sought from the Sovereign Pontiff authority to be received into the Society in Russia. While Pius VII. wished and desired the complete restoration of the order, he could not yet venture on authorizing it by a public and official act, though he gave a verbal permission.

The restoration of the Society had always been a subject of Bishop Carroll's thoughts and hopes, and the good priests, who had for so many years gloried in being Fathers of the Society of Jesus, implored Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor to take steps to effect such a union with Russia as would enable them to realize their wish.

It was a period of great anxiety and perplexity, in which neither Dr. Carroll nor his pious coadjutor, Bishop Neale, could see his way clearly. On the 25th of May, 1803, they wrote to Father Gabriel Gruber, General of the Jesuits in Russia. "We who write this letter to your Paternity," they begin, "were formerly of the Society of Jesus and the Province of England. After the fell destruction of the Society in 1773 we returned to this our native land, and have labored in it together with fellow-members of our suppressed Society, ours being the only Catholic priests who have labored for the salvation of souls since the first entrance of Christians into these lands." They then detailed the erection of the diocese of Baltimore and the influx of other priests. The fourteen surviving members of the Society, most of them broken by years and toil, remained chiefly in the two States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in which is the oldest and most powerful residence of Catholics. They state how joyfully they had learned of the preservation of the Society in Russia, and the permission given him by a Papal brief to enroll again in the Society those who had formerly been members. "Wherefore most of them solicit with ardent

desire, that by renewing the same vows, which they had vowed to God in the Society of Jesus, they may be permitted to end their days in its bosom; and if it can be done by the will of Providence, spend the remainder of their lives in restoring the Society among us. You know, Very Rev. Father, what and how much must be done that not a mere larva of the old Society, but its genuine form, the rule, and proper spirit may revive in them all." To effect this the two bishops asked: 1. Whether the Sovereign Pontiff had permitted the erection of the Society elsewhere than in Russia, by an authentic brief or bull. 2. Whether the Pope permitted only the former members to re-enter, or authorized the reception of new members. 3. What probation was to precede the restoration of former members. 4. How delegates were to be chosen to the General Congregation. They urged him to select some Father of great prudence, experience in the direction of affairs, and deeply imbued with the spirit of Saint Ignatius, to come over, with such powers of a Visitor as the holy founder conferred on Saint Francis Borgia and others, and effect the restoration. They did not consider any one of the Fathers in America eligible, as they had been absorbed in missionary duty and had enjoyed little leisure to study the Constitutions, and the acts of the General Congregations. If no one in England could be found, they preferred an Italian or a German.

The bishops stated that the property formerly belonging to the Society had been nearly all preserved, and was sufficient to maintain at least thirty Fathers; and that part of it had been employed in founding a College for the education of young men. They further mentioned their own elevation to the episcopate and the freedom enjoyed by Catholics, under which there was no obstacle to religious orders; and closed by expressing their fervent wish that some hope and begin-

ning of the restoration of the Society may result from their correspondence.[1]

It took long in those days for letters to pass between Russia and the United States, and it was not till the 12th of March, 1804, that Father-General Gruber wrote from St. Petersburg in reply. He expressed his holy joy at receiving such a token of the love of the former members for the Society and desire to re-enter its bosom, and exclaims: "Blessed be God whose mercy is forever!" After sketching briefly the preservation of the Society in Russia, its career there, the holding of four general congregations, and his own election, he came to the questions propounded by Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor. He stated that for fear of provoking hostility from the enemies of the Society, the Sovereign Pontiff was deterred from declaring his favor to the Society by an express brief, but that he permitted the reception of members outside the limits of the Russian Empire by a "vivæ vocis oraculum," as attested by letters from Cardinal Consalvi, Secretary of State, by the Penitentiary Vincent Georgi, and by the Procurator of the Society, Father Cajetan Angeolini. By this oral authority, Very Rev. Father Gruber deemed himself empowered to receive members into the Society anywhere, in silence and without noise. He cited the case of Father Aloysius Poiret, Missionary Apostolic at Pekin, who applied for permission to re-enter the Society, and received in reply that there was no difficulty, that it was free to any one living out of Russia to connect himself with the Society there.

He regarded such a step therefore as perfectly sanctioned,

[1] Bishops Carroll and Neale to Very Rev. Gabriel Gruber, May 25, 1803; Woodstock Letters, iv., p. 73. As given in Cretineau Joly, "Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus," Paris, 1846, vi., p. 358, etc., it is neither complete nor accurate.

only that caution was required, so as not by the erection of colleges, or the open use of the habit, to excite new troubles. He then wrote: "This premised, I admit and receive all who seek union with us, whether they formerly belonged to the Society or not, in this manner, that those who were Professed Fathers, after an eight days' retreat, ratify their profession of the four vows by this brief formula: I, N.N., before Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, ratify the profession made by me in the month of , in the year , at (for instance Liège). Given at (Baltimore) on the day of , in the year ." Those who had not made their profession after a similar retreat of eight days were to renew their simple vows, in order to take their last ones a year later, prior to which they should make a month's retreat. Those who never had belonged to the Society should make a probation by following the Spiritual Exercises for four weeks, and by reading the rules and institute, of which he promised to forward copies, and by the cultivation of humility and other solid virtues. "Wherefore, I most humbly beseech you, Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord, by your love for our most excellent Mother, to appoint some one of our old Fathers there, full of the spirit of God and St. Ignatius, who may examine those who are to be admitted for the first time, instruct, form, and watch over them: who if it seems best to you, may communicate with Father Stone, Provincial of England, or with Father Strickland at London. In the meanwhile I commit the whole to the favor, zeal, and patronage of yourself, Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord and your coadjutor the Bishop of Gortyna. If you both consider that it will be easy to communicate with Father Stone, the Provincial of England, let ours turn to him for the necessary government. If Father Stone is too distant, inform me, and propose some one of our Fathers in America whom I can appoint Provin-

cial. In the meantime, let the most Illustrious and Reverend Bishop of Baltimore designate one who may govern not only the novices but the whole reviving Society, with all the powers, which I concede 'ad interim' to the one thus to be selected."[1]

Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor, Bishop Neale, were animated with the deepest affection for the Society of which they had been members. Nothing was dearer to their hearts than its restoration, and had it then been authorized by a brief of equal power with that suppressing it, both would in all probability have resigned the episcopal dignity to become once more simple Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Writing to Father Stone, Bishop Carroll said: "The example of the good Bishop of Verona, is a lesson for Bishop Neale and myself to meditate on, and it has indeed before and since the receipt of your letter, been often a subject of consideration with me, whether I ought not to petition the Pope to resign and resume my former state. My Bishoprick, as you know, gives me no worldly advantages, and is very burthensome. Can I promote the honor of God more, by relinquishing than by retaining it? Into whose hands could the Diocese be committed, who would not perhaps thwart the establishment of the Society and oppose a reinvestment in it of the property formerly possessed, and still so providently retained? These considerations have hitherto withheld my coadjutor and myself from coming to a resolution of returning to the Society."[2]

But Bishop Carroll feared to take action on a brief addressed to Russia only, never promulgated in other parts,

[1] Very Rev. Gabriel Gruber to Bishop Carroll, St. Petersburg, March 12, 1804.

[2] Bishop Carroll to Very Rev. Marmaduke Stone.

and extended only by a "vivæ vocis oraculum" of the reigning Pope. He saw the danger that menaced those who in America might act under it. The next Pope might deny the authenticity of the verbal permission, of which the Archives would afford no official record, and treat as rebels to the Church, those who in defiance of the Brief of Pope Clement XIV. had resumed the habit, and lived together under the rule of St. Ignatius, when their individual adhesions to that Brief were on file at Rome.

The course he adopted can be seen in the following, copied from his own handwriting:

"May 9th, 1805.[1] In consequence of advices received from the Very Rev. F^{r} Gabriel Gruber, Gen^{l} of the Society of Jesus in Russia, a notification was made to all who had preferred their petition for the restoration of the said Society, that the Bishops of Baltimore and Gortyna would hold a conference at St. Thomas's manor, with those who persisted in their desire. Accordingly on this day were there assembled, besides the aforementioned Bishops the RR. John Bolton, Charles Sewall, Sylvester Boarman, Charles Neale and Baker Brooke. The Bishop of Balt^{re} after prayers began the Conference by reading the copy of F^{r} Gruber's letter to him received thro' the Rev^{d} W^{m} Strickland of London, for the original letter has never come to hand. He read likewise other letters from Europe which tended more and more to disclose the state of the Society there: and after

[1] It was not till May that the survivors, all men well in years, could meet, for the winter had been one of unexampled length and severity. Rev. Charles Sewall to Rev. Nicholas Sewall, February 5, 1805. "Our lame and crippled position in point of the old members renders the com mencement of the business perfectly awkward. However, Bishop Car roll will meet our Gentlemen at St. Thomas's manor soon after Easter in order to put hand to work." Bishop Neale to Rev. F. Marmaduke Stone, March 15, 1805.

recapitulating the reasons for hoping a secure and lasting re-establishment of the Society, as well as those which gave reason to fear its stability, the Bishop added that the whole subject being now before them, each one was to determine for himself the course he had to pursue, either of uniting himself immediately with the Society in Russia, or of waiting till a public and authentic brief or bull was issued, authorizing its re-establishment. The matter being thus proposed, and each one desired to consult his own heart, the meeting was adjourned to the following day."

The next day all expressed their wish to unite with the Society, and announced that Rev. Robert Molyneux also authorized them to declare it to be his desire.

In fact, however, only the Rev. Robert Molyneux, Rev. Charles Sewall, and Rev. Charles Neale then renewed their engagements and gave "a commencement to the good work so earnestly recommended."

Father John Bolton and Father Sylvester Boarman soon joined their old associates; but on the 21st of June Bishop Carroll, by virtue of the letter of the General, appointed Rev. Robert Molyneux Superior, with the powers of Provincial, of the Society of Jesus in the United States.[1] He received the ratification of his profession, and Father Molyneux received the two others into the Society. On the 9th of August, 1805, he wrote to Bishop Carroll: "We are all to enter on a spiritual retreat of eight days, and on Sunday within the octave of the Assumption perform the requisite to become members of our ancient Mother, the Society of Jesus."[2]

The Jesuit body, which began in Maryland with its settle-

[1] Bishop Carroll to Rev. Robert Molyneux, June 21, 1805. Formal appointment June 27, 1805.

[2] Father Robert Molyneux to Bishop Carroll.

ment, in the persons of Fathers White and Altham, now began a new life after an extinction of about thirty years.

Father Robert Molyneux, whose name has often appeared in the history of Catholicity in America, was born near Formby, in Lancashire, England, on the 24th of July, 1738, and entered the Society of Jesus on the eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1757, and was professor in the college at Bruges. He came to this country in 1771, and was soon afterward stationed in Philadelphia, where he was a zealous and devoted missionary for many years, beholding his Society suppressed and the American colonies severed from the British realm rise into a republic full of strength and vigor. In 1788 he was stationed at Bohemia, and then at Newtown, where he remained till he became President of Georgetown College. He held that position till 1796, and was again at Newtown till his appointment as Superior of the American Jesuits by Bishop Carroll. He then took up his residence at St. Thomas' Manor in Maryland. He was efficient in reorganizing the Society, and when Bishop Neale resigned the presidency of Georgetown College in 1806, resumed that position, but his life of labor was nearly at its close. On the 9th of December, 1808, he piously ended his long and useful life.[1]

To aid the new mission, the General of the Order in 1805 sent over Fathers Adam Britt and John Henry, who were followed the next year by Fathers Francis Malevé, Anthony Kohlmann, and Peter Epinette.[2]

On the 22d of February, 1806, the General of the Society,

[1] Foley, "Records of the English Province," London, 1882, vii., p. 514; Woodstock Letters, xv., pp. 99–100, xii., p. 289; Bishop Carroll to James Barry, October 12, 1806.

[2] Bishop Neale to F. Marmaduke Stone, February 16, 1808; F. Anthony Kohlmann to Rev. Mr. Strickland, February 28, 1807.

Father Brzozowski, appointed Father Robert Molyneux Superior, and a regular novitiate was opened at Georgetown on the 10th of October, 1806. Vocations were not wanting in the Catholic families of Maryland; but these accessions did not enable the Society to cope with the work before it, as years would be required to form and educate for the priesthood and the religious life those who entered. The first to assume the habit of St. Ignatius were Enoch Fenwick, Benedict J. Fenwick, James Spinck, Leonard Edelen, Charles Bowling, John McElroy, and several lay brothers, all under the direction of Father Francis Ignatius Neale, who had gone through a term of probation. Before the close of their two years, there were nine others in the novitiate, with several lay brothers.[1]

Bishop Carroll saw the accession to his clergy with a great sense of relief. The future of Georgetown College and of numerous missions seemed secured. He sent Father Britt to the Church of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia, where a zealous priest was sorely needed to repair past scandals. Soon after he dispatched Father Kohlmann to give a mission in that church; then to visit the country parishes where Germans prevailed, and arouse the faith of the people. That learned and able Jesuit concluded his apostolic work by a three days' retreat at the German church in Baltimore.[2] The results were most consoling, for Father Kohlmann was a man pre-eminent in theological learning, and in the pulpit making truth clear to the most limited intelligence, in words that reached the heart while they instructed the mind.

The Society of Jesus in Maryland and Pennsylvania then re-entered into possession of the property which had been

[1] F. Robert Molyneux to Rev. Mother Dickinson, February 23, 1808.

[2] F. Anthony Kohlmann to F. Strickland, April 23, 1807.

preserved. It was, however, agreed between Bishop Carroll and Father Molyneux that "the annuity allotted to the Bishop from the estates of the Society or Corporation shall continue perpetual and inalienable and an authentic instrument of writing to that effect shall be executed." [1]

On the death of Rev. Mr. Fournier and the suspension of Rev. Mr. Thayer, the whole mission labor in Kentucky devolved on the energetic priest, Badin. For two years he lived almost constantly on horseback, riding from station to station to attend to the wants of the Catholics scattered through the State. He was assiduous in the care of his flock, and if strict, was loved and respected. He trained his people to say their morning and night prayers constantly; to



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF REV. STEPHEN T. BADIN.

receive the sacraments regularly; to be devout to the Blessed Virgin, and say the rosary frequently; to attend mass punctually, if it was said within five miles' walk or ten miles' ride, and especially to instruct their children and servants in the principles of their faith.

He had frequent encounters with the Protestant ministers, but his keen wit and his learning generally made him dreaded. Although his own flock was more than enough for his care, he was constantly instructing and receiving Protestants into the Church.

In July, 1805, a priest came to relieve him—one who was to leave a name never to be forgotten in the annals of the

[1] "Agreement adopted and signed between the Right Rev. J. Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, and the Rev. Robert Molyneux."

Church. This was the Rev. Charles Nerinckx, a native of Herffelingen, in Belgium, who, graduated at the University of Louvain in 1781, had been ordained to the priesthood four years later, at the age of twenty-four. While zealously discharging his duties as parish priest of Everberg-Meerbeke,



REV. CHARLES NERINCKX.

he was compelled to fly to escape arrest by the French who had invaded Belgium. Ministering to the faithful by stealth for some years, he applied at last to Bishop Carroll, and his services having been accepted, he crossed the ocean and landed in Baltimore, October 14, 1804, and was at once assigned to the laborious mission of Kentucky. In July, 1805,

he joined Rev. Mr. Badin at St. Stephen's, and began his holy and zealous ministry, which left enduring monuments.[1]

Soon after a colony of Trappist monks, under Father Urban Guillet, reached Kentucky in the autumn, and took up their residence on Pottinger's Creek, at the foot of Rohan's Knob. Two of the priests soon died at St. Stephen's, attended by Rev. Mr. Nerinckx, and a third followed shortly after they had taken possession of their first home. Unfortunately the Superior was restless and capricious. No place seemed to suit him, and his community, weakened by austerities and the hardship of travel, were exposed to malarious disease by constantly breaking new ground and drinking unwholesome water. He transferred them to Casey's Creek in 1807, where, under the prior, Rev. Father Mary Joseph Dunand, they began a community life in a double frame cabin, which Rev. Mr. Nerinckx describes as about as large as a ten-horse stable, hardly keeping out the rain, but serving as dormitory, refectory, and church. But in 1809 the fickle Superior transferred his community to Florissant, Missouri, the next year to Looking Glass Prairie, Illinois, leaving a trace of their passage in the name of "Monk's Mound," given to the ancient Indian work on which they planted their monastery. In 1813 Father Urban returned to Europe with nearly all his monks. These pious and austere men left only the example of their virtue; they did not, to any considerable extent, contribute to build up Catholicity in the West.[2]

[1] See the admirable Life of this holy priest by Right Rev. C. P. Maes, Bishop of Covington.

[2] Bishop Maes, "The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx," Cincinnati, 1880, pp. 100–112; Webb, "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," Louisville, 1884, pp. 194–9; Spalding, "Sketches of Kentucky," Louisville, pp. 162, etc.; "Relation de ce qui est arrivé à deux Religieux de la Trappe pendant leur séjour aupres des Sauvages," Paris, 1824; Pope, "Memoir of Father Vincent de Paul," Charlottetown, 1886.

Rev. Mr. Nerinckx resided for a time with Rev. Mr. Badin at St. Stephen's, but before the close of his first year he removed to the house erected by Rev. Mr. Fournier on Rolling Fork. Here a frame church had been hastily erected by the people, to which, on the feast of the Holy name of Mary, in September, 1805, he gave the name of Holy Mary; but on the 15th of November he laid the corner-stone of a larger and more substantial edifice, though it was to cost only four



CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, LEONARDTOWN, MD.

hundred dollars. It was to receive a statue of Our Lady which he had brought from Belgium. The next year he erected on Hardin's Creek a log church, dedicated to St. Charles Borromeo, for a congregation of six hundred, who had been in the habit of meeting at the house of Henry Hagan. This was the fourth church in Kentucky.[1]

[1] Bishop Maes, "The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx," pp. 114–9; Spalding, pp. 130, etc.; Webb.

About this time the two Kentucky priests made a journey to Vincennes, which Bishop Carroll had been unable to supply with a priest after the death of the zealous Rev. Mr. Rivet. Their sermons and exhortations on the occasion of the Jubilee, their assiduity in the confessional and in catechizing awakened the faith of the people, and on the 25th of April the Vincennes Catholics wrote to Bishop Carroll, imploring him to give them a resident pastor. Here would have been a spot for the Trappists, near a Catholic town, on land cultivated for several generations. Bishop Carroll replied to the people, encouraging them to persevere in the good resolutions formed, and promising to use every exertion to obtain a priest for them.[1]

Besides the Catholic emigrants from Maryland, a number of Irish Catholics sought homes in Kentucky, especially in and near Danville. They soon projected the erection of a church, and in 1800 Daniel McIlroy gave a piece of ground at that place as a site for a church, Rev. Mr. Badin agreeing to pay $50 for it. On this, in 1807, was erected St. Patrick's, the first Catholic church in the State constructed of brick. The Rev. Mr. Badin requested the Dominican Fathers to take charge of this place, but the land was not paid for and no deed executed. Meanwhile McIlroy became embarrassed in business; his property was attached by his creditors, who sold the church without any regard to the rights of the Catholic body. The money contributed by the Irish Catholics was thus lost to them. St. Patrick's church became a private house and is still standing on Fifth Street, Danville, the residence of Professor Fales.[2]

[1] Bishop Carroll to Catholic inhabitants of Post Vincennes, Sept. 6, 1804; Alerding, "A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes," Indianapolis, p. 76.

[2] Rev. C. Nerinckx to his parents, Aug. 29, 1807. Letter of Rev. A. J. Brady.

Thus the first brick church in Kentucky, erected by the joint exertions of Rev. Messrs. Badin and Nerinckx, and the contributions even of Protestants, was lost to Catholicity.[1] Modernized into a dwelling-house of the present day, this venerable structure presents nothing to the eye to recall the pioneer priests of Kentucky, Badin and Nerinckx.

Soon after the commencement of the Danville church, the



PRESENT CONDITION OF ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, DANVILLE, KY., FIRST CATHOLIC BRICK CHURCH IN THE STATE.

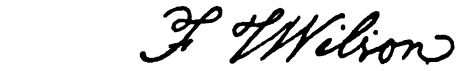
Rev. Mr. Badin was able to announce that there was some prospect of a church being erected at Louisville.[2]

During the days of persecution when the penal laws of England bore with fearful intolerance on her Catholic sub-

[1] Letters of Rev. S. T. Badin to Bishop Carroll, 1807, 1808; Webb, "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," Louisville, 1884, pp. 157, 576; Bishop Maes, "The Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx," Cincinnati, 1880, p. 122.

[2] Rev. S. T. Badin to Bishop Carroll, June 15, 1808.

jects, the Continent became the home of their seminaries, colleges, and cloisters. One of the religious houses there founded was the Convent of the Dominican Fathers at Bornheim, in Belgium. Here a young man of the Maryland house of Fenwick assumed the white habit of Saint Dominic, impelled by the hope that he might, in God's providence, be enabled to found a branch of that order in his native land. The armies of revolutionary France, imbued with a hatred of religion, swept over Belgium. The convent at Bornheim was seized and plundered, but the Fathers all escaped to England, except Father Edward Dominic Fenwick, who was then procurator of the house. He was arrested and confined, but his claim of American citizenship opened the prison doors, and he joined his brethren in England, where they had established Carshalton Academy. Here the plan of his early days revived, and in January, 1804, with the consent of his Superiors, he wrote to Bishop Carroll about his project



SIGNATURE OF FATHER THOMAS WILSON, O.P.

of establishing an academy in America, to be conducted by the Friars Preachers.

Receiving the encouragement which Bishop Carroll promptly gave, he, with the consent and aid of his Superior, Father Thomas Wilson, applied to the General of the Order and the Holy See. The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide on the 11th of March, 1805, on the approval of Father Pius Joseph Gaddi, General of the Dominican Order, and by the desire of the whole body, authorized Bishop Carroll, to whose prudent decision the affair was committed,

to permit Father Edward Dominic Fenwick to found a province of his order in the United States.[1]

Without waiting for the formal papers from Rome, Father Edward Fenwick, who as an American by birth had been selected as Superior, with Fathers Thomas Wilson, William Raymond Tuite, and Robert Angier, set out for America. After a long and tedious voyage, Fenwick and Angier reached Captain James Fenwick's place at St. George's, Maryland, in the latter part of the year 1804.[2] During the next year these new missioners were employed in Maryland;[3] but as Bishop Carroll directed their attention to Kentucky as a suitable field, Father Fenwick made his plans for an Academy there, which Bishop Carroll thus approved:

✠

"The Rev. Mr. Edward D. Fenwick and other Rev^{d} Clergymen connected with him, having proposed to themselves the establishment of a College or Academy in Kentucky, for the education of youth, I not only approve of but greatly rejoice at their having formed such a resolution, which if carried into effect, cannot fail of producing the most beneficial effects for improving the minds and morals of the rising generation and fortifying their religious principles. Believing that God in his beneficence inspired this design into their minds, I take the liberty of recommending to and exhorting all my dear Brethren and Children in Christ, to grant to it

[1] F. Edward D. Fenwick to Bishop Carroll, Carshalton Academy, Surrey, January 12, May 5, 1804; "Decretum Sac. Congnis gnlis de Propaganda Fide, habita die 11 Martii 1805."

[2] F. Edward D. Fenwick to Bishop Carroll, St. George's, November 29, 1804.

[3] Same to same, Washington, December 15, 1804; Zachia, October 10, 1805.

every encouragement they are able, and thus co-operate to the success of a work undertaken for the glory of God and their own advantage.

"JOHN, Bishop of Baltimore.

"BALTIMORE, April 25, 1806."

Proceeding to Kentucky, Father Fenwick purchased of John Waller a plantation of 500 acres, near Springfield, in Washington County, lying on Cartwright's Creek. It had on it a small brick house and two mills. This place, acquired for the sum of $4,500, became the home of the order in Kentucky. His fellow-religious joined him in 1806, and a church dedicated to St. Rose of Lima, the first native of the New World canonized by the Holy See, was at once begun. Father Wilson said of the people among whom they were to labor: "The men both young and old in this poor country are very shy of priests; a little good-nature will, I hope, in time, bring many to their duty: some already drop in by degrees: not one in twenty frequents the sacraments; few since they left Maryland.[1] They will not be driven, they say, and indeed with good words they will almost do anything for you, considering their poverty. They are beyond expectation generous in our regard. I hope God Almighty will

[1] Spalding, "Sketches of Kentucky," Louisville, p. 149; Webb, "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," Louisville, 1884, pp. 69, 200, 202; Father T. Wilson to Bishop Carroll, July 25, 1806; Father Edward D. Fenwick to same, St. Rose's College, near Springfield, Ky., April 8, 1807. Great interest was felt at Rome. Father R. Luke Concanen, afterward Bishop of New York, writing to Bishop Carroll, January 30, 1806, says: "I can never sufficiently thank you for the kind reception and encouragement and protection you have been pleased to show my confreres Fenwick and companions, in their laudable undertaking. May it turn out 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam.' You have the humble thanks of my Father-General and of all these of my order here."

bless their good-will and desire of seeing priests, as they call them, of their own."

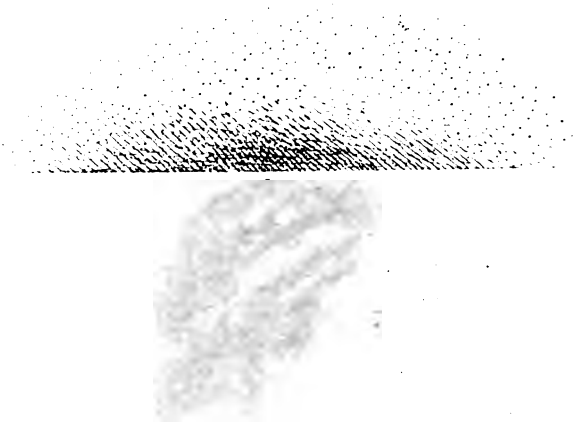
Father Fenwick soon resigned his position and urged the appointment of his old superior, Father Wilson, a learned, holy, and experienced priest, as Provincial. A novitiate was opened in 1809, and the province acquired a permanent place in the history of the Church.

Let us now return to Bishop Carroll's episcopal city. Up to this time Bishop Carroll had used as his pro-cathedral the church of St. Peter, but he felt that he ought to undertake the erection of a suitable cathedral church, and that if he hoped to see it completed, the work should be at once commenced. He had in a pastoral letter in 1803 called on the faithful of his diocese to aid in the great work. "Having long entertained," says the founder of our hierarchy, "an anxious desire of dedicating a church to God, to be erected by the united efforts of all our brethren in this diocese, to stand as the evidence of their attachment to the unity of episcopal government, as well as of their unity in faith (for these are inseparable), and being made sensible by my descent in the vale of years, that I ought not to expect to see this work accomplished unless it be soon undertaken, I am induced to recur to, and intreat you by your attachment to the interests of our holy religion and affection for its Author, and the object of its worship, Jesus Christ, to lend your aid toward carrying this design into effect."

In view of the sacrifices necessary in many parts where churches had to be erected, and the necessity of securing a maintenance for their pastor, the good Bishop did not anticipate great contributions from those living at a distance from the seat of the intended cathedral, but he called on the more prosperous members to emulate the example of their fathers in the faith, and their fellow-believers in Catholic lands, to

contribute to raise the humble cathedral which he proposed. He asked but little—one dollar a year for four years from the head of each Catholic family—the money to be paid in the month of December. They were also, "if it were consistent with their several situations," asked to take an interest in the Lottery instituted "for the same object." His pastoral also called upon the congregations to raise an annual collection of at least five dollars from the poorest church to meet the expenses of the Coadjutor Bishop in making visitations in different parts of the diocese, no steps having yet been adopted to give the bishop in this country an income for his maintenance and necessary expenses.

At Rome the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" had favored the appointment of a coadjutor to Bishop Carroll rather than the division of the diocese of Baltimore and the appointment of separate bishops. The belief was, that with a coadjutor residing in one part of the large diocese with powers of Vicar-General from Baltimore, a uniform discipline and ceremonial could be obtained, and the clergy coming from different countries and of different education could be moulded into one harmonious body. But the years lost in forwarding the bulls for the consecration of Bishop Neale had wrought their changes. The coadjutor yielded to the influence of years more rapidly than Dr. Carroll, and was less able to travel by the laborious vehicles and roads of that day. Bishop Carroll had been compelled to recall him from Philadelphia and mission work to become President of Georgetown College, where his presence seemed essential, as Dr. Carroll had no one to replace him. He had, too, the spiritual direction of the religious community which he founded. At this time he was no longer able to assume the charge of a large tract of country without leaving other duties for which he was especially fitted. He accordingly



contribute to raise the humble cathedral which he proposed. He asked but little—one dollar a year for four years from the head of each Catholic family—the money to be paid in the month of December. They were also, "if it were con-



ELIZABETH SETON.

Née le 28 Août 1774. Morte le 4 Janvier 1821.

Alph. Masson sculpt. d'après un portrait fait à Mexico par Ashe k en 1790.
par M. de St. Mesmin, Emigré français.

remained at Georgetown, and Bishop Carroll, on the elevation of Pope Pius VII. to the Chair of Peter, urged Mgr. Brocadero, the Prefect of the Propaganda, to take measures to have other episcopal sees erected in the United States.[1] He wrote also to Cardinal Borgia, who, in reply, expressed the opinion that one additional episcopal see would not suffice for the interests of religion in the United States, as the country was very extensive, and the Indians had been driven beyond the Mississippi and the Lakes. He asked Bishop Carroll to forward to Rome information as to the places where episcopal sees could be judiciously erected, and the limits to be assigned to each diocese. He requested also to know how the new bishops could be supported, whence they could obtain priests to aid the bishops, perform parochial functions, and labor among the Indians, "whose conversion," he adds, "should be an object of solicitude."

Bishop Carroll was furthermore requested to name clergymen who were worthy to be invested with the episcopal character.[2] It was not, however, till nearly five years later that steps were actually taken to put this project in execution.

In the summer of 1804 Bishop Carroll went to spend a month near the city of Washington, and on the way called to see the venerable Dean of the English province of the Society of Jesus, Father Thomas Digges. This American priest was born in Maryland, January 5, 1711, and was consequently at this time more than ninety-three years of age. He entered the Society in 1729, and took the four vows of a professed Father, February 2, 1747. When Bishop Carroll visited him, his health was good, but he was almost blind, and his memory was far gone, yet tolerably accurate as to past transactions. He was

[1] Bishop Carroll to Mgr. Brocadero, February 10, 1802.

[2] Cardinal Borgia to Bishop Carroll, June 26, 1802, in reply to the Bishop's letter of February 10.

cheerful and loved to sit in company, and delighted to converse of the eminent Fathers of former days whom he had known. He died on the 18th of February, in the following year, 1805.[1]

The Church in New York progressed under the care of the zealous and able Father William O'Brien, O.P., who signalized his zeal during the yellow fever which desolated the city in 1795 and 1798. The free school established at St. Peter's in 1800 was soon well filled and did much good.

Meanwhile God was preparing one there who was to exercise a great influence in the Church in the United States. Mrs. Eliza A. Seton, wife of one of the leading merchants in New York, and daughter of the famous physician, Richard Bayley, accompanied her husband to Italy, which he visited to restore his shattered health, but found there only a grave. Mrs. Seton, whose mind had been far from satisfied with the doctrines and system of the Episcopal Church, in which she had been nurtured, was deeply impressed by the Catholic faith. On her return she consulted Bishop Hobart, but he could not reassure her. After long examination, prayer, and counsel, she was received into the true fold at St. Peter's Church, New York, on the 25th of March, 1805, by Rev. Dr. Matthew O'Brien. She found herself at once isolated and shunned by her relatives and friends. A widow with a dependent family, she bravely undertook a school, but encountered many difficulties.

The next year, the holy season of Christmas showed the old prevailing distrust of Catholics. On the eve of the festival a mob endeavored to force an entrance into the church.

[1] Bishop Carroll to F. William Strickland, August 4, 1804; Foley, "Records of the English Province," London, 1882, vii., p. 203; Rochefoucauld Liancourt, "Voyage dans les Etats Unis," vi., p. 112. Bishop Carroll on the 23d of Nov., 1804, issued a pastoral to which was annexed the Brief of Pope Pius VII., May 24, 1800, 8 pp., and extended through his diocese the advantages it conferred.

Blood was shed before the riot was appeased.[1] The church was gaining, however; the Rev. Mr. Sibourd and other priests aided Father O'Brien in his labors.

In the meantime the United States had acquired by purchase the province of Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain by France in 1763, and had recently been transferred once more to France, but not actually restored to the French flag. The Directory sent over Mr. Laussat, who received the territory from Spain, on the 30th day of November, 1803, and who twenty days afterward placed the American commissioner in possession of the country.

Bishop Carroll intuitively saw in that disturbed province a terrible burthen menacing him. He felt that as Louisiana had become part of the United States, the Holy See would, at least, while political affairs were still warmly discussed, place Louisiana and the Floridas under his care.

Although Bishop Carroll wrote to implore earnestly that this additional burthen should not be imposed on his declining years, a rescript was issued by the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII., on the first day of September, 1805, constituting Bishop Carroll Administrator-Apostolic of the diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, with power to delegate his authority to a Vicar-General.[2]

Some notice of the condition of religion in that province, from the time of its cession to Spain, is necessary to understand its actual religious condition.

[1] Bayley, "A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York," New York, 1853, pp. 50–2; New York "Evening Post," Dec. 26, 1806; Otter, "History of My Own Times," Emmittsburg, 1835, p. 82.

[2] Rev. R. Luke Concanen to Bishop Carroll, January 30, 1806, mentions that he had forwarded the packet extending his jurisdiction over Louisiana and Florida on the 28th of September.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH IN LOUISIANA 1763–1793.—THE BISHOP OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.—RT. REV. CYRIL DE BARCELONA, AUXILIAR.—DIOCESE OF LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.—RT. REV. LUIS PEÑALVER Y CARDENAS 1793–1803.—V. REVS. THOMAS HASSETT AND PATRICK WALSH, ADMINISTRATORS 1803–1806.—RT. REV. JOHN CARROLL APPOINTED ADMINISTRATOR-APOSTOLIC.

When France ceded to England Canada and the Northwest territory, she felt that she could not long hold Louisiana, and accordingly by a secret treaty conveyed that province to Spain. Announcing the cession to Governor d'Abadie, Louis XV. wrote: "In consequence of the friendship and affection of his Catholic Majesty I trust that he will give orders to his Governor and all other officers employed in his service, in said colony and city of New-Orleans, to continue in their functions the ecclesiastics and religious houses in charge of the parishes and missions, as well as in the enjoyment of the rights, privileges, and exemptions granted to them by their original titles."

The Capuchin Fathers accordingly continued their usual functions awaiting the arrival of the Spanish authorities. The Catholic monarch seemed, however, in no haste to take possession of a province thus thrust upon him; it was not till the 5th of March, 1766, that Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived at New Orleans with eighty soldiers and three Capuchin Fathers. No transfer of the province was made, however, nor did Ulloa take possession or proclaim his commis-

sion as governor. The flags of Spain and France were both seen in different parts. Ulloa, however, was gradually introducing Spanish rule through Aubry, the French governor, and excited such hostility that in October, 1768, he was driven from Louisiana by a decree of the Superior Council.[1] It was not till the 18th of the following August, that Governor Aubry delivered up the province to Alexander O'Reilly, who had landed at New Orleans with a force of three thousand men.

Lafrenière and other members of the Superior Council, and some who had taken part in the expulsion of Ulloa, were arrested and tried by court-martial. On the 25th of October, 1769, Lafrenière, Noyan, Caresse, and Milhet were shot in the yard of the barracks; six others were sent in irons to Havana. Such was the end of Lafrenière, the instigator and main actor in the impious work of levelling churches at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits.[2]

Of the clergy during these days of trouble we hear little, although the Capuchin Father in charge of the parish of the Cote des Allemands is accused of having been active in exciting the people against the Spaniards.[3]

While Aubry was still acting as governor an attempt was

[1] Decree of the Superior Council. "Louisiana Historical Collections," v., p. 164.

[2] "Louisiana Historical Collections," v., p. 144. "Memoire des Habitans et Negocians de la Louisianne sur l'Événement du 29 Octobre, 1768." New Orleans, Denis Brand, 1768, p. 2. Brand was the first Louisiana printer, authorized by the French Government in 1764. All copies of the Memoire that could be found were seized and burnt by O'Reilly. Brand was put on trial as the printer, but escaped by proving that he acted under the orders of the Commissaire Ordonnateur. My copy is evidently that used on his trial, having the testimony endorsed that saved his life. Gayarré, "Histoire," iii., pp. 21–2.

[3] Gayarré, "Histoire de la Louisiane," New Orleans, 1846, ii., pp. 164, 345–9.

made to build a parish church, and a hospital and orphan asylum were opened.[1]

In 1766 the Superior Council, which assumed supreme power, civil and ecclesiastical, expelled from the province Father Hilaire de Génévaux and made a corrupt and ignorant friar, Dagobert, Superior.[2]

It was during this chaotic state of affairs that Louisiana received several bands of Acadians, who escaping from the English colonies had reached St. Domingo, but found that island fatal to their health and ill-adapted for settlement.[3]

While scattered through the British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, they had except in Pennsylvania and Maryland been deprived of priests; but the Bishops of Quebec were not indifferent to their welfare. They appointed laymen in each band of the exiles with whom they could communicate, to whom they gave authority to dispense with publication of banns, and to receive the mutual consent of marriage, so that these Catholics would not be compelled to go before Protestant magistrates. Private baptism was also given by those thus selected.[4]

After taking possession, O'Reilly reorganized the province on the Spanish model, and gave the form of oath to be taken by all officials. It began in a form which will seem strange to many, but which shows that the doctrine defined by Pope Pius IX. in our days was officially recognized in the Spanish

[1] Champigny, "Memoir," "La. Hist. Coll.," v., pp. 180–1.

[2] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," New York, 1854, p. 50. This talented author cloaks under a style of banter the infamous life and terrible neglect of duty in Father Dagobert.

[3] The first detachment, 98 in all, arrived in February, 1765. (Gayarré, ii., p. 127.) By May, when 48 families arrived, these immigrants numbered 468. (Ib., p. 128.)

[4] Dispensations were also given in certain cases. See Note of Edmond Mallet, "U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.," i., pp. 112-18.

dominions. "I, —— appointed ——, swear before God, on the holy Cross and the Evangelists, to maintain and defend the mystery of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady the Virgin Mary."[1]

An abridgment of the Spanish laws was prepared and issued in French, but Spanish was made the official language for all public acts.

In 1772 the Right Rev. James Joseph de Echeverria, Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, sent the Capuchin Fray Cyril de Barcelona to New Orleans with four Spanish Fathers of the same order, Francisco, Angel de Revillagodos, Louis de Quintanilla, and Aleman. They arrived in the capital of Louisiana on the 19th of July, and were well received by the Spanish authorities. Fathers Aleman and Angel were at once stationed in parishes that required pastors.[2]

Father Cyril was a religious faithful to his rule and to his priestly duties. The French Fathers of his order who had remained in Louisiana, after the cession of the province, still held the parish church of New Orleans, Father Dagobert claiming to be Superior and parish priest; but these Capuchins, who had long thrown off all allegiance to bishop or superior, led lives that were a public scandal. As a natural consequence religious duties were everywhere neglected. Few men approached the sacraments even at Easter; debauchery prevailed; the baptism of children was long deferred, and performed with little regard to the ritual; negroes were not instructed, and did not receive the sacraments even when dying. Sermons to adults and instructions for the young were equally unknown.

Yet Father Dagobert had the effrontery to write to the

[1] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," New York, 1854, p. 7.

[2] Father Cyrillo de Barcelona to Bishop Echeverria, August 5, 1772.

Bishop, making great profession of piety and zeal; asking to be appointed Vicar-General.[1]

Father Cyril set to work to remedy abuses as well as he could, till some one arrived with authority to banish the unworthy priests. He took steps to have Catechisms and Rituals printed with French and Spanish text.[2]

He soon found, however, that any change for the better or any reformation was almost impossible. The people had been industriously filled with prejudices against the Spanish clergy, and espoused the cause of the unworthy and shameless Dagobert and his associates to such an extent, that even the Spanish Governor, Unzaga, wrote to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba to remonstrate against any effort to remedy the condition of affairs. He was more anxious to maintain Spanish supremacy than Christian morality.

It was not till this visit of Father Cyril of Barcelona that any provision was made for the religious needs of the Catholics on the Upper Mississippi, their salvation having been of little concern to the wretched representatives of the church at New Orleans, who seem to have abandoned nearly all the missions outside of that city.

In 1772 Father Valentine, a Capuchin, was stationed at St. Louis, where there was a little wooden chapel, blessed in 1770 by the zealous Canadian priest Pierre Gibault, who attended the Catholics of that place from his home in Illinois. The records of the church show Father Valentine ministering in St. Louis from 1772 to 1775. During his administration he blessed a bell in 1774 for use in the chapel, and he took steps in the same year to secure the erection of a more suitable edifice for the worship of Almighty God.

[1] Father Cyrillo de Barcelona to Bishop Echeverria, September 15, 1772; Father Dagobert to same, September 22, 1772.

[2] Same to same, November 14, 1772.

The second church of St. Louis was a wooden structure sixty feet in length, and half that measure in width. A veranda five feet wide ran around the whole edifice. It was not a very imposing structure, but the population was small, not exceeding two hundred probably, and they did not complete the building till the summer sun of 1776, that witnessed the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, reached the Spanish village beyond the great river of the West. In that year Father Bernard was appointed parish priest of St. Louis.[1]

In 1773 Father Hilary, apparently the one who had struggled with Father Dagobert for supremacy at New Orleans, was stationed by Father Cyril, the Vicar-General, at St. Genevieve, which was attended first by the Jesuit Fathers Wattrin, Salleneuve, and Lamorinie, till the authorities at New Orleans tore them away, then by Meurin, and lastly by the stout priest of the West, Rev. Peter Gibault. Father Hilary buried his ambition in this remote parish till 1777, when he left it once more to the care of Gibault. The first church was erected on the original site of the village, "Le grand champ," a beautiful prairie three miles south of the present city, and when that location was abandoned in 1785 in consequence of a devastating inundation of the mighty river, the church was removed to the present town.[2]

The Rev. Mr. Gibault relinquished the care of St. Genevieve to Rev. Louis Guignes, whose name appears from 1786 to 1789, when the Carmelite Father Paul de St. Pierre took charge.[3]

Father Cyril placed the Capuchin Father Luis de Quinta-

[1] Rev. D. J. Doherty, "Address on the Centenary of the Cathedral Church of St. Louis, Mo.," St. Louis, 1876, p. 6.

[2] Rozier, "An Address—150th Celebration of the Founding of Ste. Genevieve," St. Louis, 1885, pp. 10–11.

[3] "Address of Hon. Firmin A. Rozier," St. Louis, 1885, p. 11.

nilla at Pointe Coupée, where he exercised the ministry for several years.[1]

Iberville also had its church of St. Gabriel, Father Angel de Revillagodos opening the Register on the 24th of April, 1773. The ground for the church was given by the Spanish government, and the edifice, though twice removed, has been repaired but once, and stands on cypress foundations still as good as when first laid.

The bell given by the Spanish King at the same time, bears the title of "Santa Maria della Merced—1768." In 1778 Father Valentine became parish priest, succeeded February 25, 1781, by Father Joseph de Arazena, Capuchin, who had charge also of the church of St. Bernard at Manchac, where emigrants from the Canary Islands had formed the settlement of Galveston.[2]

The coming of Father Cyril in the name of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, was hailed with delight by the Ursuline Nuns, who were thus brought into relation with a Superior to whom they could expose their wants and trials. They received two young ladies sent from Havana, whose progress and happy life were a proof of the high character of the community. Father Cyril was appointed Director, and the Bishop soon authorized the nuns to give the veil to three postulants.[3]

[1] Register of Pointe Coupée. Notes furnished by Rev. J. P. Gutton: Father Valentine was there in 1775–7; Father Hilary, 1778–80; the Dominican F. L. Grumeau, 1781–3; Rev. Mr. Geffrotin for a time in 1783, when Father Quintanilla resumed and continued to 1791.

[2] Registers of St. Gabriel d'Iberville and St. Bernard de Manchac, and very full and interesting notes of Rev. J. M. Laval. The grant of 101.73 arpents to the church in Manchac was recognized by the United States Government. "American State Papers—Public Lands," Washington, 1834, ii., p. 369.

[3] Letters of Bishop of Cuba to Ursulines, October 1, 1773; October 13, 1778.

The Bishop of Santiago de Cuba soon found that he could do little in the vast province recently placed under his care, but he encouraged his Vicar to persevere, and that religious, unsupported by the civil authority, and loaded with misrepresentation and calumny by the adherents of the priests at New Orleans, whose irregularities he could only correct in their worst external manifestations, was able to effect greater good in the parishes.[1]

The King of Spain, finding that the Sacrament of Confirmation had never been administered in Louisiana, and that visitations of that extensive province by the Bishops of Santiago de Cuba could not be depended upon, resolved in the Council of the Indies, July 10, 1779, to apply to the Holy See to give the Superior of the missions in Louisiana the power to confer that sacrament for the period of twenty years.[2]

This application does not seem to have been urged or granted, and a more definite plan for the restoration of discipline in Louisiana was proposed. This was the appointment of an auxiliary bishop, who, instead of residing as heretofore at St. Augustine, should take up his abode in New Orleans, and thence visit the missions on the Mississippi, as well as Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Augustine.

The Sovereign Pontiff favored this plan, and appointed Father Cyril de Barcelona Bishop of Tricali and Auxiliar of Santiago de Cuba. He was consecrated in 1781 and proceeded to New Orleans, which thus, for the first time, enjoyed the presence of a Bishop. The whole of the province of Louisiana with the Floridas, which had been in great part

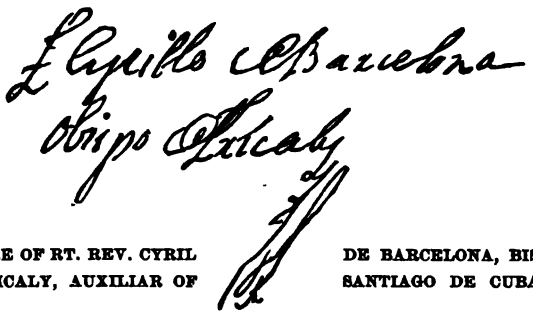
[1] Letter of Bishop Echeverria.

[2] Joseph de Galvez to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, August 15, 1779.

recovered by Don Bernardo Galvez, formed the portion of the diocese placed under his care.

The state of the Church in Louisiana about the year 1785 may be gleaned from the official accounts. The church at New Orleans had a parish priest and four assistants; and there was a parish priest at each of the following points: Terre aux Bœufs, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist or Bonnet Carré, St. James, Ascension, St. Gabriel's at Iberville, Pointe Coupée, Attakapas, Opelousas, Natchitoches, Natchez, St. Louis, St. Genevieve, and St. Bernard's at Manchac or Galveston.

On the 25th of November, 1785, Bishop Cyril appointed



SIGNATURE OF RT. REV. CYRIL TRICALY, AUXILIAR OF DE BARCELONA, BISHOP OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

as parish priest of New Orleans Father Antonio Sedella, one of six Spanish Capuchins who had come to the colony in 1779, but who was destined to become the scourge of religion in Louisiana. To increase his power Father Sedella soon afterward solicited an appointment as Commissary of the Holy Office, and was in consequence sent to Spain by Governor Miro in 1787. He returned, however, and resumed his functions, seeking thenceforward to ingratiate himself with the people.[1] It is also stated officially that he was sent

[1] Miro, Despatch, June 8, 1789, in Gayarré, "Louisiana," pp. 270–1.

to Spain for having killed a man in a quarrel concerning a woman, but escaped punishment by a lavish use of money.[1]

This same year a number of the unfortunate Acadians came at the expense of the King of France and settled near Plaquemines, Terre aux Bœufs, Bayou Lafourche, Attakapas, and Opelousas, increasing the former industrious and thriving Acadian colonies. They bore with them the precious Registers of St. Charles aux Mines in Acadia, extending from 1689 to 1749, only six years before their cruel deportation. These they deposited for safe keeping with the priest of St. Gabriel at Iberville, where they are to this day.

A salary of three thousand dollars was assigned to the Bishop Auxiliary, and as he was required to make a visitation extending to Mobile and Florida, a special allowance of $4,000 was also made.[2]

We find him visiting, October 16, 1785, the parish of St. Jacques de Cabahannocé, founded by Acadians in 1779, the Capuchin Father Prosper being the first pastor, and James Cantrelle the great benefactor. The pious and devoted men of this part showed their zeal for religion by frequent donations of plate and necessary articles for the altar. Bishop Cyril at his visitation installed Father Francis Arzuqueça as parish priest.[3]

Bishop Cyril on his visitation was on the 13th to 14th December, 1785, at Bonnet Carré, where the Spanish government (1770–5) had given a site, four arpents by eighty, for the erection of the church of St. John the Baptist, the Capuchin

[1] Codice IV. Canada-Isthmo de Panama, 1818–1820; Archives of the Propaganda.

[2] Letter of Don Joseph de Galvez to the Bishop of Cuba, September 17, 1785.

[3] de Sennegy, "St. Michel du Comté d'Acadie," Nouvelle Orleans, 1877, pp. 21–28.

Father Barnabas being the first incumbent (August 16, 1772, August 24, 1784). He directed the Registers heretofore kept in French to be written in all cases in Spanish.[1]

We find him next at St. Gabriel's at Iberville, with his Secretary, Ignatius Ant. Domenech, on the 20th of December. That church, after being under the Premonstratensian canon Morel d'Herméville, from August 31, 1783, to April 27, 1785, had received as its pastor Father Bernardo de Deva, September 25, 1785, who was in charge also of what promised to be the larger parish of St. Bernard at Galveston.[2]

At Pointe Coupée, Father Luis de Quintanilla, Capuchin, had been parish priest (December 14, 1783, to February 4, 1791), followed by Father Bernard de Limpach (March 27, 1791–1796); the latter dying suddenly was buried by Rev. Charles Burke, parish priest of Baton Rouge. The Rev. Mr. Gerboy then became parish priest, succeeded by Rev. Francis Lennan, who had been pastor at Natchez, and still attended it occasionally, and temporarily in 1800 by the Carmelite Father Paul de St. Pierre, whom we have seen in Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri.[3]

[1] Extracts from the Register of St. Jean Baptiste, Bonnet Carré, due to the kindness of Rev. J. M. Ravoire.

[2] These churches were attended after F. Deva's last entry, April 28, 1788, by Father Joseph Anthony Dias de Maceda, May 24, 1788, April 12, 1789; F. Bernard de Limpach, February 24, 1790, March 31, 1791; F. Bonaventura de Castro, June 12, 1791, August 11, 1799; Notes from Registers by Rev. J. M. Laval. F. Deva died June 9, 1826, aged 80.

[3] Notes from Register of Pointe Coupée by Rev. J. P. Gutton. Father de St. Pierre was a German, a member of the Carmelite order, and had been chaplain in Rochambeau's army. After acting as administrator at St. Gabriel at Iberville, he was parish priest from 1804 to his death, October 15, 1826, at the age of 81. He was interred by Rev. Anthony Blanc. Rev. Mr. Laval says of him: "Father de St. Pierre was certainly one of the most remarkable priests that ever administered St. Gabriel's church. During his time the church was removed from its former place on the

Pensacola surrendered after a stubborn siege on the 8th of May, 1781, and Catholic service was at once restored, the first parish priest being the Capuchin Father Peter de Velez, of the province of Andalucia, who served for some time, being succeeded in August, 1785, by Father Stephen de Valoria of the same order.[1]

St. Augustine returned to Spain by the treaty of peace in 1783, but the Catholic king was already providing for the future of Catholicity in that ancient province. As early as 1778, Charles III., on learning that the Rev. Dr. Camps, whose health was broken by his labors among the Minorcans, wished to return to Europe, elected Rev. Thomas Hassett and Rev. Michael O'Reilly, two Irish clergymen, to proceed to Florida as parish priest and vicar, paying their passage, giving them two hundred dollars to obtain clothing and necessary books, and assigning each three hundred and fifty dollars a year. They were to present themselves to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba to obtain faculties, and proper installation.[2]

This care of the Spanish king contrasts favorably with that of the French court, which seems to have done nothing for its former subjects who passed under the English sway, not even after the American Revolution made it easy to provide for the Indians in Maine and whites and Indians in the West. Irish clergymen trained in Spain were selected, as they could attend the Spaniards and at the same time labor among the English-speaking population.

The two Irish priests embarked at Cadiz, but delays were

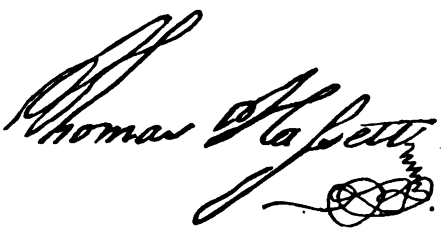
bank of the Mississippi to where it stands now, the river having swept away the bank in front of it in 1817."

[1] Libro primo de Asiento de partidas de difuntos de esta yglesia Parroq[e] de San Miguel de Panzacola.

[2] Joseph de Galvez to the Bishop of Cuba, Madrid, December 16, 1778.

caused by shipwreck and by the war, and it was ascertained that the Minorcans were at St. Augustine, and Rev. Dr. Camps still ministering to them. Rev. Mr. Hassett was invited to take charge of a Catholic school at Philadelphia, but the close of the war and the cession of Florida to Spain changed the whole condition of affairs. The Rev. Messrs. Hassett and O'Reilly were ordered to proceed to St. Augustine with the Spanish troops dispatched in 1784 to take possession and act as parish priest and vicar of the Minorcans.[1]

Royal orders, however, had to conform to canon law. Rev. Dr. Camps was parish priest of San Pedro de Mosquito,



SIGNATURE OF VERY REV. THOMAS HASSETT, PARISH PRIEST OF ST. AUGUSTINE, CANON OF NEW ORLEANS, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE DIOCESE.

not of St. Augustine, and if Rev. Mr. Hassett took charge of the Catholics in the latter city, it would be as parish priest of the ancient parish, the office actually conferred on him by the Bishop. He opened the Registers on the 1st of August, 1784, styling himself Beneficed Curate Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge, with Rev. Michael O'Reilly as auxiliar, the latter being also chaplain of the troops forming the garrison of the fort.[2]

The Rev. Dr. Camps did not withdraw, but remained to

[1] Joseph de Galvez to the Bishop of Cuba, Aranjuez, April 23, 1784.

[2] Libro primo de bautismos de negros, etc. St. Augustine, August 1, 1784.

care for his old flock.[1] Spanish settlers gradually came in, forming a congregation for the official parish priest and his assistant.

A hospital was also established, and as early as December 4, 1784, Rev. Francis Troconis appears as chaplain of the Hospital of our Lady of Guadalupe.

The venerable city once more put on a Catholic look and re-echoed with the services of our holy faith. The whole territory of Louisiana and the two Floridas over which Bishop Cyril had been appointed, thus came really under his care.

The Rev. Mr. Hassett found few traces of the old Catholic



SIGNATURE OF REV. MICHAEL O'REILLY.

life in the city of Menendez. The only place for a chapel was a low room in the poverty-stricken house which Dr. Camps had been able to secure as a home. The provisional parish church had been swept away by the English; the Bishop's house had been replaced by a frail structure; the Franciscan convent had become the barracks.

[1] Rev. Dr. Camps, who had served his Minorcan flock with great devotedness, not only receiving nothing from them, but even aiding their poverty from his scanty allowance, appealed to the king in 1781, and it was proposed to promote him to a canonry in the island of Majorca. Letter of Rev. Dr. Camps, July 30, 1780. Letter of Joseph Galvez to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, March 17, 1781. Nothing, however, was ever done. Governor Zespedes, in a letter to the Count de Galvez, December 25, 1786, bears testimony to the merit of this good priest, to the "Evangelical simplicity and purity of life which gave him the influence of a true apostle." He had also on the 5th of August, 1784, remonstrated against his removal till another Minorcan priest of equal zeal was sent to replace him.

Rev. Mr. Hassett took possession of the building on the site of the Bishop's house, and made the upper floor the temporary parish church, inconvenient as it was to reach it by a staircase, and ill-adapted as it was for the worship of Almighty God. What Dr. Camps had for the service of the altar was wretched beyond description, worn out and poor. The plate and vestments properly belonging to the church of St. Augustine had been carried off when the English took possession and were still retained in Cuba.

Rev. Mr. Hassett appealed to the king to erect a suitable and becoming church, with a high altar, sacristy, pictures of the Crucifixion and of our Lady, organ, baptismal font, vestments, plate, and the various articles—banners, crosses, and the like—to use in processions and on great holidays in order to excite the piety of the faithful. He also asked the restoration of all articles belonging to St. Augustine which had been removed to Cuba.

In Spanish churches, the fabrica or trustees supplied the bread, wine, and candles, by the collections taken up during service; and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament maintained the lamps. As both fabrica and confraternity were wanting, he solicited an appropriation to cover the cost of these articles.[1]

It was not, however, till February, 1786, that orders were sent from Spain to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba to furnish the Church of St. Augustine with articles of absolute necessity at once.[2]

The king meanwhile urged Bishop Cyril to make a visitation of the Florida portion of the diocese confided to him, and directed the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba to pay him four

[1] Rev. Thomas Hassett to the Governor of Florida, October 6, 1784.

[2] Marquis of Sonora to Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, February 5, 1786.

or five thousand dollars to cover the expenses of a visitation extending to Mobile and Pensacola.[1]

Soon after this the king ordered the sum of $3,537 and a real and a half, the value of the plate and vestments carried off in 1763 from St. Augustine, and the rents of eleven houses in Havana belonging to the Church of St. Augustine, to be applied to rebuild the church, "which quantity he holds and considers sufficient for a decent church suited to that town." Plate and vestments were sent, and an increase of salary given the two priests.[2]

One of the objects in appointing Irish priests who spoke Spanish, was to give to Florida priests able to convert English-speaking settlers who chose to remain in the country. They at once opened courses of instruction at St. Augustine, and the Register shows a series of baptisms of adults, white and colored. An official list was also forwarded to Spain.[3]

To carry on this work among poorer settlers on the St. John and St. Mary Rivérs, where the people had lived without any religious instruction or guidance, Zespedes, Governor of Florida, urged the king to establish a parish on each river, and station two clergymen in each.[4]

The Franciscans of the province of Santa Elena de la Florida had not been indifferent to the recovery of the colony. On July 3, 1784, Father Francis Roderic Capote, in the name of the province of which he was custos and delegate, petitioned the king asking that they should be put in possession of the convent and missions which had belonged

[1] Joseph de Galvez to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, September 17, 1785.

[2] The Marquis of Sonora to same, Madrid, December 8, 1786.

[3] Rev. Thos. Hassett to Governor of St. Augustine, and Copia de la Relacion, September 3, 1786. It gives thirty-seven names.

[4] Governor Zespedes to Count de Galvez, August 12, 1786.

to them when Florida was ceded to England. He set forth that their convent was still standing, that the province had been in possession of it and the Indian mission stations for a century and a half before 1763, as appeared by the Royal Cedulas in the archives of the Commissary-General of the Indies; and now that Florida was restored to the Crown of Spain, they were ready and anxious to return and resume their labors for the conversion of the Indians.[1]

The matter was considered by the king in the Council of the Indies, and the opinions of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba and of the Governor of Florida were requested before any definite action was taken.[2] Governor Zespedes in his reply deemed it unadvisable to introduce the Franciscans again till the country was settled by Spaniards, and a larger population there. The rights of the Franciscans were acknowledged, but as he averred, "the edifice which formerly served them as a convent, was completely transformed and had lost all appearance of such a habitation for religious: that it was too far from the city to allow the religious to furnish promptly to the faithful any spiritual consolation," and that in the event of their return it would be necessary to rebuild the convent and church and set aside a fund to support the friars till there were faithful enough to contribute the necessary alms; and that four priests already there sufficed for the wants of the people.

He represented the former Indian missions as extinct, and proposed a plan of his own for converting the still heathen tribes. Though some of his statements were evidently exaggerated, his arguments must have prevailed, for the Franciscans were not allowed just then to revive their work in

[1] Petition of F. Capote, July 8, 1784.

[2] The king to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, April 9, 1786.

St. Augustine and occupy the convent which all the documents in this affair recognized as really belonging to them.[1]

In 1786 Bishop Cyril issued a pastoral urging the faithful to attend the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass on Sundays and holidays with due respect and devotion. He also called attention to the too common violation of the laws of the Church by servile works and by buying and selling on those days. Still more severely did he censure the dances of the negroes on Sunday afternoons during Vesper time.

Governor Miro in his Bando de Gobierno or Proclamation, on assuming office, supported the Bishop by announcing that he would carry out the Bishop's recommendations and enforce a due observance of the Lord's day.[2]

The King of Spain, wishing to retain the English settled at Baton Rouge and Natchez, applied to the Bishop of Salamanca to obtain priests from the Irish College in his episcopal city, who would be adapted for such places, and be able gradually to win the people over to the Catholic faith. Those selected were the Rev. William Savage, a clergyman of great repute; Rev. Michael Lamport, Rev. Gregory White, and Rev. Constantine Makenna. The Franciscan Father Joseph Denis, with six Fathers of his order, was also sent to Louisiana. The Irish priests reached Havana in the summer of 1787, and the labors of several can be traced during the ensuing years.[3]

In 1787 the Holy See, at the instance of the King of Spain, divided the diocese of Santiago de Cuba and erected the new bishopric of St. Christopher of Havana, Louisiana,

[1] Letter of Governor Zespedes, September 1, 1786.

[2] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," New York, 1854, p. 179.

[3] Bishop of Cuba to Esteban Miro, July 4, July 27, 1787.

and the Floridas. The Right Rev. Joseph de Trespalacios, then Bishop of Porto Rico, became the first bishop of the new diocese, and the Right Rev. Cyril de Barcelona became his auxiliar, charged with the care of the continental portion of the district confided to him.[1]

The change was therefore but in name in Louisiana and Florida, which thus became part of the diocese, briefly termed that of Havana. The new bishop was apparently not pleased with the auxiliary thus assigned to him, and refused him his salary. This detained Bishop Cyril for a time in Havana till an order of the king directed the payment of his arrears, and required him to return to the provinces placed under his care.

On the 11th of April, 1788, a lot of land lying near the fort at Natchez was purchased from Stephen Minor as the site of a church. The plot contained 300 arpents, equal to some 180 acres, the consideration being $2,000. According to Right Rev. Bishop Janssens, this property was between the present Franklin, Rankin, State, and Wall Streets. A frame house, forty feet by fifty, including the verandas, and containing five rooms and a wide hall, was erected as a home for the clergyman of the place. According to tradition this house stood on the Court House Square and was the only one on the hill. Orders were given also for the erection of a suitable church. This shrine of religion was a two-story frame building, and stood on Centre Street, over the spot now familiarly known as the "Centre of Natchez."[2]

One of the Irish priests from Salamanca was stationed

[1] Gams, "Series Episcoporum," Ratisbonne, 1873, p. 152.

[2] Right Rev. Francis Janssens, D.D., "Sketch of the Catholic Church in the City of Natchez, Miss., on the occasion of the Consecration of its Cathedral, September 19, 1886"; Natchez, 1886, pp. 13, 14.

here, but the records are not extant. The earliest incumbent of the parish under the Spanish sway, of whom we find any trace, was the Rev. Francis Lennan.[1]

Another church was erected at Coles Creek, called in Spanish Villa Gayoso.[2]

Most of the people at Natchez were Protestants, many of them Americans who sided with England; but the historian of Mississippi says: "No attempt was made to proselyte or proscribe them, nor was there ever any official interference, unless the parties in their zeal, or under indiscreet advisers, became offensively demonstrative. There was, in fact, more religious freedom and toleration for Protestants in the Natchez district than Catholics and dissenters from the ruling denomination enjoyed in either Old or New England."

The territory east of the Mississippi, held by Spain under the title of conquest and a treaty with England, was, however, claimed by Georgia, and that State made grants of the very ground occupied by the Spanish forts. Trouble seemed so imminent that Spain, by the treaty of October 27, 1795, abandoned her claim to all territory north of the 31st degree from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochee.[3]

The Spanish garrison left Natchez on the 29th of March, 1798, and the fort at Nogales, now Vicksburg, was soon afterward vacated.[4]

The churches at Natchez and Coles Creek were left in the

[1] John Harrisson to Rev. Francis Lennan, Pastor of the Natchez church, November 24, 1794.

[2] Bishop Peñalver to Bishop Carroll, New Orleans, April 12, 1799.

[3] Claiborne, "Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State," Jackson, 1880, pp. 136–7, 159. A minister named McCloud by preaching to the people to prepare for a terrible persecution is probably alluded to by Claiborne.

[4] Claiborne, "Mississippi," pp. 195, 208.

care of Mr. Joseph Vidal, the Spanish Consul, "in order," wrote Bishop Peñalver, "that they may be occupied for divine service, should a community of Catholics be formed there, and that by this means the House of God may not be profaned." [1]

On Good Friday, March 21, 1788, New Orleans was swept by a terrible conflagration in which nearly nine hundred buildings were totally destroyed. The parish church, which was a brick structure dating back to 1725, with the adjoining convent of the Capuchin Fathers, the house of Bishop Cyril, and the Spanish school, were among the edifices reduced to ashes.

Amid the general desolation of New Orleans after this disaster, one man stands prominent for his public spirit and generosity. This man was Don Andres Almonaster y Roxas, an Andalusian, member of the Cabildo and Alferez Real. He at once offered a small building for the Spanish school, and later in the year he offered to rebuild the church with a house beside it for the use of the clergy, and another house for public offices. For his outlay he was to be reimbursed in due time.[2] His generous offer was accepted.

The corner-stone of the new church was laid in the following year;[3] but the work proceeded so slowly that at the beginning of 1794 the edifice, which should have been completed in the previous August, was still without a roof, or any of the work necessary to complete the interior. Don Andres had, however, received, at the time fixed for the completion, a cedula conferring on him the honors and rights

[1] Bishop Peñalver to Bishop Carroll.

[2] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," New York, 1854, pp. 203, 205, 271.

[3] Governor Miro's Despatch, June 8, 1789; Ib., p. 271.

of the Royal Patronage.[1] The church was, however, completed before the close of the year, and narrowly escaped destruction in a second conflagration which desolated the city on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1794.[2]

Soon after the fire of 1788,[3] Bishop Cyril de Barcelona retired to Havana, and in the autumn crossed to Florida, where he made a formal visitation of the Church of St. Augustine on the 17th of September. His entries in the Registers show that he found all the services of religion conducted with edifying regularity. He made, however, one change, which seems strange to those who are not fully aware of the complete State control of the Church at that time. Rev. Mr. Hassett and his assistant had made the entries in the Registers in Latin, the language of the Church, but Bishop Cyril here, as in Louisiana, placed on the Register his direction that they should henceforward be kept in Spanish, and he gave the official form for Baptism, Marriage, and Interment.[4]

As a result of this visit and the Bishop's report steps were taken to establish chapels on St. Mary's River and St. John's River, and in 1789 two Franciscan Fathers of the Observance were sent out to serve in those districts.[5]

[1] Baron de Carondelet to Duke de la Alcudia, January 18, 1794, in Smith, "Coleccion de Varios Documentos," Madrid, 1857, pp. 86–7.

[2] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana," pp. 271, 336. Don Andres Almonaster y Roxas died at New Orleans, April 26, 1798, and was interred in the church he erected. His remains lie in the present cathedral, a large marble slab recording his services.

[3] Governor Miro, Despatch, April 1, 1788, cited by Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," New York, 1854, p. 208. There were before the fire eight French schools with about 400 pupils.

[4] Auto del Obispo de Tricali in Register of St. Augustine, September 17, 1788.

[5] Marquis de Bajamar to Bishop of Havana, Aranjuez, May 21, 1791.

Bishop Cyril continued the care of his portion of the diocese, although without any of the officials who gave dignity to the life and functions of Spanish bishops. He had not even a secretary; he had only two attendants, not in orders, and no official residence. He was, in fact, with far more laborious and expensive duties, less suitably provided than the previous auxiliary bishops who had resided in St. Augustine. Each of them had a house, and six salaried clergymen attending on him. He addressed the king from New Orleans on the 12th of September, 1789, asking, for the sake of religion, to be placed in a more worthy condition at that city, the five Capuchins at the parish church being required for that and the missions, and seldom being able to help him celebrate a pontifical mass according to the ritual.[1]

On the 19th of May, 1790, died at St. Augustine at the age of sixty, the Rev. Dr. Peter Camps, so long the devoted pastor of the Minorcans. He was born at Mercadel, Minorca, of Don Francisco Camps and his wife Caterina Enero. Fortified by the sacraments of the Church which he had so often administered to others, he closed his apostolical career, and his body was laid, after the solemn mass of requiem, in the cemetery of the city, amid the tears of his bereaved disciples. There it lay till the year 1800, when it was removed to the parish church with all possible solemnity on the tenth anniversary of his burial, by the good priest, Rev. Michael O'Reilly, who in the official act styles himself, Dr. Camps' unworthy successor.[2]

King Charles IV. of Spain, on the 31st of May, 1789, issued a royal decree, requiring that on every plantation there should be a chaplain for the negroes. Against this the

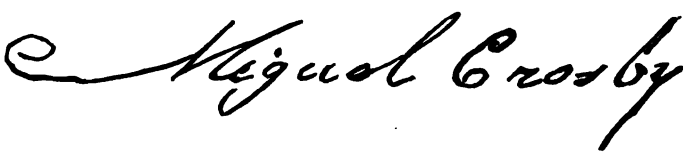
[1] Bishop of Tricali to the King, New Orleans. September 12, 1789.

[2] Entries 86 and 222 in Parish Register of St. Augustine.

authorities in Louisiana remonstrated, urging its impossibility, as there were not priests even for all the parish churches.[1]

In 1791 Bishop Cyril made a visitation at Pensacola, where Father Stephen de Valorio was still in charge of the parish.[2]

This same year the Observantines were recalled from Florida, and three Irish priests, Rev. Mark Barry, Rev. Michael Crosby, and the Carmelite Father Michael Wallis, proceeded to St. Augustine. Two of these, whom the Bishop should select, were to reside at the chapels to be erected on the St. John's and St. Mary's Rivers.[3] At the same time, the Rev. Narcissus Font, a Conventual Franciscan, native of Villanueva y Gertru in Catalonia, came over to succeed Rev. Dr. Camps in the care of the Minorcans, closing his short but edifying career by a pious death on the 13th of January, 1793.[4]



SIGNATURE OF REV. MICHAEL CROSBY.

The priests assigned to these new charges were to receive thirty dollars a month, and all priests in Florida were warned against exacting onerous fees from the faithful.

[1] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," pp. 801-2.

[2] Register of San Miguel de Panzacola.

[3] Marquis of Bajamar to Bishop of Havana, May 21, 1791.

[4] Father Font was interred in the cemetery with Father Camps, and his body removed to the church with the remains of that priest. In the work of restoring the Church of St. Augustine after the fire of 1887, the vault containing them was found. Entry of Rev. Mr. Hassett in Register of St. Augustine, No. 132, January 13, 1793; of Rev. M. O'Reilly in same, 222, May 27, 1800.

The Ursuline Community at New Orleans sustained a series of losses about the time when France was deprived of her power on the American Continent. Sister Mary Turpin of St. Martha, the Illinois member, died in 1761; Mother Charlotte Herbert of St. Xavier, Mother Renata Guiquel of St. Mary, one of the foundresses, and Mother Frances Margaret Bernard de St. Martin died in 1762–3, followed soon after by Mother Mary Jane of St. Mark, and Mother Mary Caillaux de Beaumont. Mother Anne le Boulanger, another of the foundresses, died in June, 1766, at the age of 81.

While the war with England lasted, the Ursulines could, of course, expect no new members from the convents of France, and the restoration of peace brought the stunning intelligence that Louisiana had been ceded to Spain. That country did not for some years enter into full control, and, as we have seen, religion languished. When Father Cyril de Barcelona came as delegate of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, the Ursulines hoped that the sufferings endured for years would end; but intercourse with France became difficult, and the Sisters, unable any longer to supply members to continue in charge of the hospital, withdrew from it January 1, 1770, and confined themselves to the care of their Academy, full of confidence that God would not abandon so ancient an institution, and one so important to the colony. This was their constant and fervent prayer.

In 1774 the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, seeing the condition of the Ursulines, their decline in numbers, their poverty and the unpromising prospect before them, proposed to the King of Spain to transfer the whole Community to Havana, where conventual buildings already existing could be placed at their disposal, and where their Academy would be gladly and generously supported by the wealthy, who needed such an establishment for the education of their daughters.

Bishop Echeverria styles the Ursuline Community "the most precious part of his flock, worthy by their institute, their poverty, and the part they take in his pastoral care," causing him to regard them with the same affection that a father does unfortunate children. "The sad condition in which I behold them, the difficulty of finding a remedy, the expense they entail on your Majesty's treasury, the lack of applicants fitted to perpetuate so important an institute, the inconvenience of employing as their directors priests who could be better employed elsewhere, and fear of seeing their regular observance disappear with want of means to maintain it, have caused me to think of a sure expedient, which will not appear to me worthy of adoption, till it has been sanctioned by your Majesty."[1]

Fortunately for this country, the King of Spain did not enter into the views of the Bishop of Cuba, and Louisiana was not deprived of its needed convent.

When some French priests were returning to Europe, the Superior Mother St. James interested one of them, Rev. Mr. Aubert, in the condition of the house, and forwarded by them an appeal to the Ursulines in France.[2] This was placed in the hands of Mr. Anthony Delaire, Spanish Consul at Rochelle: and when Rev. Mr. Aubert succeeded in finding three religious ready to go to the relief of their Sisters in New Orleans, he applied to Count Aranda, the Spanish Minister at Paris, to obtain the consent of the Catholic monarch.[3]

[1] Right Rev. James Joseph Echeverria to the King of Spain, March 26, 1774.

[2] Conde de Aranda to Conde de Floridablanca, Paris, September 8, 1784; Legajo, 8891.

[3] Same to same, Paris, September 13, 1784, enclosing letter of Aubert, Grenoble, September 8, 1784.

The matter was examined at the Spanish Court, and no difficulty was raised.[1] The three religious thus secured by the zeal of Rev. Mr. Aubert, were Mothers St. Xavier, St. Felicitas, and St. Andrew, all professed nuns, who undertook the voyage and arrived at New Orleans, February 17, 1786.

Meanwhile Bishop Cyril, who had become auxiliary with control of Louisiana, had required the Community to receive Spanish postulants, the language of all their exercises had become Spanish, and a new Superior, a Spanish lady, Mother Monica, was at the head of the house. She was reluctant to receive the nuns from France, and Bishop Cyril was not pleased with their coming. But the three Mothers were finally permitted to join the Community, taking rank after all the other professed in the house. Bishop Cyril referred the whole matter to the King of Spain, and a good priest interceded so earnestly for them, that Charles IV. considering the steps they had taken to obtain his sanction before leaving France, allowed them to assume their proper rank, although Bishop Cyril censured the Community for acting without his permission and forbade the reception of any others from abroad, a regulation enforced till 1791.

The Community had thus become Spanish instead of French, but after a time postulants born in the colony of French origin were received.

The Spanish government allowed Protestants who had settled in Florida during the English occupancy to remain, but when some crossed into Georgia to be married, complaints were made, and the king issued a decree on the 30th of November, 1792, by which all marriages, where one or both

[1] Don José de Galvez to Conde de Floridablanca, September 21, October 23, 1784.

parties were Protestants, were required to be celebrated before the Catholic priest. He was not, however, to pronounce the formula "Ego conjungo vos," or give the nuptial benediction; but was to keep a special register of these marriages. All baptisms of infants were to be performed by the parish priest. This Edict was extended also to Louisiana.

The decree of the King of Spain was not to carry out any decision of the Holy See or of Bishops whose action was approved by the Pope; it was stated expressly that he proceeded in the matter "as Protector of the Council of Trent, and in the discharge of the eminent Patronage, which he exercises in the ecclesiastical government of these dominions, which the Vicars, Parish priests, and others charged with the care of souls in the provinces of Louisiana, East and West Florida are to observe inviolably, and cause to be observed and fulfilled by those under their care." [1]

The following document will give a very clear idea of the way in which ecclesiastical affairs were managed in Spanish America. The Congregation de Propaganda Fide had no control; the King of Spain, under the bull of Pope Julius II., decided as to the erection of new dioceses and their limits, provided for the maintenance of the bishop and clergy, and made the episcopal nominations. The case was then sent to Rome, and the Holy See, in most cases, approved the steps taken, created the new bishopric, and preconized the bishop, issuing the necessary bulls:

"THE KING.

"Rev. Father in Christ, Don Fray Cirilo de Barcelona, of my Council, Bishop Auxiliary of the diocese of Havana: The

[1] Cedula issued San Lorenzo, 30th November, 1792, based on letter of Governor of Florida, April 20, 1792.

Reverend Bishop thereof having under date of December 22d, in the year 1791, represented to me the deplorable state of religion and ecclesiastical discipline in the province of Louisiana, excited the compassion of my royal mind, and induced me to deliberate on the most efficacious means to remedy it: with this view I directed the privy council of the Indies, by my royal order of April 23d, in the year last past, to give me their opinion whether it would be proper to separate that province and Florida from his diocese, and establish a bishop in them; and having done so in the consultation of October 22d in the same year, I saw fit to resolve, in conformity with their opinion, that the correspondent Brief should be solicited therefor. His Holiness having agreed thereto, and expedited the consistorial decree for the demembering of said provinces, and a new erection of a bishopric in them, under date of April 25th in this year, and the corresponding step having been taken on the 26th of June followin by my privy Council, I have resolved also to relieve you of your office of auxiliary; and direct you to return immediately to your Capuchin province of Catalonia, with the salary of one thousand dollars a year, which the said reverend Bishop of this diocese has to contribute to you for the days of your life, in order that you may live with the decency and moderate style, which becomes your character of Auxiliary, your state and profession as a Religious Capuchin: for such is my will. Done at San Lorenzo, the 23d day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

"I, THE KING.

"By order of the King,

"Antonio Vent[ra] de Taranco."

This peremptory order terminated the administration and residence of Bishop Cyril of Barcelona in Louisiana and

Florida. He returned to Havana, and seems to have remained there with the Hospital Friars, a religious community, while endeavoring to obtain payment of his salary to enable him to return to Europe in compliance with the king's command. He seldom left the city except in the summer heats, when he retired to the sugar estate of the Fathers at Bauta.[1] He was still there in the year 1799, as the king on the 30th of August wrote sharply rebuking Bishop Trespalacios and ordering him to pay the $8,000 due Bishop Cyril, and expressing his surprise and displeasure that his repeated orders had been disregarded.

When and where this unfortunate bishop died, I have not been able to learn. His efforts to reform abuses and scandals drew on him ill-will in Louisiana, and modern writers, palliating the prevailing laxity of discipline and morals, have presented Bishop Cyril in an odious light, although there is not the slightest evidence of any facts to justify their assertions.[2] That in the end his administration did not please Bishop Trespalacios and King Charles IV. is evident from the order given above, and the harsh banishment to his province.

[1] The Fathers preserved in the Sacristy of their Church of Belen the portrait of this first resident bishop in Louisiana. When the church and convent passed out of their hands this painting was removed to the old Hall of Conferences in the University, where Señor Bachiller y Morales recollects seeing it habitually when he was Dean of Philosophy. Unfortunately it has now disappeared, and efforts to trace it have proved fruitless.

[2] Catholics are often reproached with the lax morality of the Church at one point or another. Yet those who make the charges, as in this case, extol the unworthy priests and condemn the Bishops who endeavor to reform the clergy and expel unworthy men from the sanctuary. With utter shamelessness writers apply the epithet "good" to the licentious Dagobert and Sedella, living openly in concubinage, and stigmatize Bishop Cyril, a man of spotless life, as ambitious, "detested," "the bitter enemy and heartless reviler of good Father Dagobert."

Though libertines in his time and some historians since have depicted the bishop in harsh colors, the eminent and impartial historian, Antonio Bachiller y Morales, attests that he had the reputation of leading a life of holiness and simplicity, enjoying especially the calm solitude of the country.[1]

DIOCESE OF LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Bishop Cyril de Barcelona, religion had made but little progress in Louisiana, and, on the application already given from the King of Spain, Pope Pius VI., on the 25th of April, 1793, issued a bull in which after citing the erection of the see of St. Christopher of Havana, and the fact that it was impossible for the bishops of that see to watch over the spiritual interests of Louisiana and Florida, which had been made subject to them, he proceeded to give as a reason for the formation of those provinces into a separate diocese, the "miserable state of religion and ecclesiastical discipline in them."

The bull placed the diocese under a bishop who was to reside at New Orleans, and who was to have a chapter consisting of two canons. Their salaries and the pension allowed to Bishop Cyril were to be paid from a fund contributed annually in specified proportions by the dioceses of Havana, Mechoacan, Tlascala, Mexico, and Venezuela.

The diocese thus created was bounded on the north and

[1] With the erection of the diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas ended the jurisdiction of Bishop Trespalacios y Verdeja. I find no act of his relating especially to Florida or Louisiana. An edict of March 27, 1793, ordered the following to be inserted in the Litany of Saints: "Ut Gallos inimicos Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, regiæque potestatis, et eorum rebelles conatus, reprimere, humiliare et subjugare digneris, Te rogamus audi nos." This was probably so recited in Florida. Bachiller y Morales, "Apuntes," Havana, 1859, iii., p. 129.

east by that of Baltimore, and on the south and west by those of Linares and Durango.

The Right Rev. Louis Peñalver y Cardenas, who was preconized as the first Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, was a priest of great merit and experience, and perfectly acquainted with the condition of the flock whom he was called to direct. He was a native of Havana, born on the 3d of April, 1719, of a noble and wealthy family, his parents being Don Diego Peñalver and Maria Louisa de Cardenas, both eminent for their charities and zeal.[1] Evincing at an early age a desire to devote himself to the service of God and to renounce all worldly advantages, he entered the Jesuit College of St. Ignatius in his native city, and was pursuing his course of philosophy in that institution when the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles III. closed all the Colleges of the Society and drove the learned religious from his dominions. Young Peñalver then entered the University, and in 1771 received his Doctor's cap in theology.

He was a priest of irreproachable life, compassionate to the poor and afflicted, and as director of an Asylum, showed skill in the direction of souls. The Bishop of Santiago de Cuba employed him in judicial and administrative positions, in which he became versed in all the details and difficulties of the Church in Florida and Louisiana. When the see of St. Christopher was erected at Havana in 1789, he was one of the priests proposed for it, and when that diocese was divided four years later, he was at once nominated and preconized Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas.[2]

[1] They contributed largely to build the magnificent church connected with the Jesuit College, and their charities were admired by the whole city. Alegre, "Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España," Mexico, 1842, iii., p. 296.

[2] Bachiller y Morales, Sketch of Bishop Peñalver in "Apuntes para

Baron de Carondelet, on reaching Louisiana as governor, had beheld with sorrowful indignation the condition of religion in that province, and Bishop Cyril's unavailing efforts at reform. His reports found scanty credence, and he looked anxiously for the arrival of Dr. Peñalver, invested with all the authority of a diocesan bishop. He wrote on the 19th of January, 1794: "I regard his coming to these provinces as supremely necessary, as well for the advancement of our holy religion, as to have the testimony of a personage of this high character to remove the doubts that have arisen as to the spirit which prompted the report I was compelled to give from zeal for religion, and unswayed by passion, and that he may attest the strict truth on which it is based."

After receiving episcopal consecration, Bishop Peñalver proceeded to New Orleans, which was assigned as the place of residence; he soon after made the following report:

"Since my arrival in this town on the 17th of July (1795), I have been studying with the keenest attention, the character of its inhabitants, in order to regulate my ecclesiastical government in accordance with the information which I may obtain on this important subject.

"On the 2nd of August I began the discharge of my episcopal functions. I took possession without any difficulty of all the buildings appertaining to the church, and examined all the books, accounts, and other matters thereto relating; but as to re-establishing the purity of religion and reforming the morals of the people, which are the chief objects which the Council of Trent had in view, I have encountered many obstacles.

la Historia de las Letras," etc., Havana, 1859, iii., pp. 41-2. I have been unable to find the Bull erecting the diocese. It is not in the "Bullarium Romanum," "Bullarium de Propaganda Fide," nor in Hernaez, "Coleccion de Bulas." Neither original nor copy exists at New Orleans. I derived some facts in regard to it from a memorandum of Rev. Dr. Charles I. White.

"The inhabitants do not listen to, or, if they do, they disregard, all exhortations to maintain the Catholic faith in its orthodoxy, and to preserve innocence of life. But without ceasing to pray the Father of all mercies to send his light into the darkness which surrounds these people, I am putting into operation human means to remedy these evils, and I will submit to your Excellency those which I deem conducive to the interests of religion and of the State.

"Because his Majesty tolerates Protestants here, for sound reasons of state, bad Catholics, whose numbers are great in this colony, think that they are authorized to live without any religion at all. Many adults die without having received the last sacraments. Out of the eleven thousand souls composing this parish, scarcely three or four hundred comply with the obligation of receiving the Holy Eucharist at least once a year. Of the regiment of Louisiana there are not above thirty, including officers and soldiers, who have fulfilled this sacred duty for the last three years. Not more than a quarter of the population of the town ever hear mass, and then only on Sundays and great holidays which peremptorily demand it. To do so on other holidays they deem an act of supererogation to which they are not bound. Most of the men, married and unmarried, live in a state of concubinage, and there are fathers who procure mistresses for their sons to divert them from marrying. Universal custom, admitting of very rare exceptions, prevents slaves from entering the marriage state. Fasting on Fridays in Lent, on vigils and ember days, is a thing unknown: and there are other evil practices which show how little religion exists here among the inhabitants, and which demonstrate that there remains in their bosoms but a slight spark of the faith infused into them at the baptismal font.

"I presume that a large portion of these people are vassals

of the king, because they live in his domain, and accept his favors. But I must speak the truth. His Majesty possesses their bodies, and not their souls. Rebellion is in their hearts, and their minds are imbued with the maxims of democracy; and had they not for their chief, a man as active and energetic as the present governor, there would long since have been an eruption of the pent-up volcano; and should another less sagacious chief ever forget the fermenting elements which are at work under ground, there can be no doubt but that there would be an explosion.

"Their houses are full of books written against religion and the State. They are permitted to read them with impunity, and at the dinner-table they make use of the most shameful, lascivious, and sacrilegious songs.

"This melancholy sketch of the religious and moral customs and condition of the flock which has fallen to my lot, will make you understand the cause of whatever act of scandal may suddenly break out, which, however, I shall strive to prevent; and the better so to do, I have used and am still using some means, which I intend as remedies, and which I am going to communicate to your Excellency.

"The Spanish school which has been established here at the expense of the crown, is kept as it ought to be; but as there are others which are French, and of which one alone is opened by authority, and with the regular license, and as I was ignorant of the faith professed by the teachers and of their morality, I have prescribed for them such regulations as are in conformity with the provisions of our legislation.

"Excellent results are obtained from the convent of the Ursulines, in which a good many girls are educated; but their inclinations are so decidedly French, that they have even refused to admit among them Spanish women who wished to become nuns, so long as these applicants should

remain ignorant of the French idiom, and they have shed many tears on account of their being obliged to read their spiritual exercises in Spanish books, and to comply with the other duties of their community in the manner prescribed to them.

"This is the nursery of those future matrons who will inculcate on their children the principles which they here imbibe. The education which they receive in this institution is the cause of their being less vicious than the other sex. As to what the boys are taught in the Spanish school, it is soon forgotten. Should their education be continued in a college, they would be confirmed in their religious principles, in the good habits given to them, and in their loyalty as faithful vassals to the crown. But they leave the school when still very young, and return to the houses of their parents mostly situated in the country, where they hear neither the name of God nor of king, but daily witness the corrupt morals of their parents."[1]

Soon after taking possession of his diocese, Bishop Peñalver, on the 21st of December, 1795, issued to the clergy under his jurisdiction a document entitled "Instruccion para el govierno de los Parrocos de la Diocesi de la Luisiana"—"Instruction which we form for the government of the Parish priests of the diocese of Louisiana," until time and circumstances permit the celebration of a synod to regulate ecclesiastical matters.

"1. Since we arrived in this diocese we have not lost sight of the spiritual good of the sheep placed under our care, some of whom are at a distance of five hundred leagues, and it is impossible to repair at one and the same time to all

[1] Bishop Peñalver, November 1, 1795, in Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," p. 376. I have altered the phraseology somewhat to make it intelligible.

parts; hence we direct our voice from here to the Parish priests by means of this Instruction, which at the same time that it reminds them of their duties, by keeping them more in sight, will encourage and animate all to fulfil them.

"2. The Parish priests are the rectors, pastors, and spiritual physicians of the flock of Jesus Christ, on them the faithful fix their eyes, hence it is necessary that they find no vices to stain them, and that their example as well as their preaching may excite some to penance and animate others in the path of virtue; with this object we warn the parish priests of our diocese, that considering the strict account which they will have to render of the souls confided to them, they should live in such a manner as not to cause their ruin, should comfort them by their words and the good odor of their virtues, hoping with an humble confidence the reward of their labors.

"3. It will become them so to walk that neither their gravity render them odious, nor undue familiarity contemptible: let them visit rarely, and endeavor that in most cases it be for the discharge of their ministry."

He then enjoined residence in their parishes, study of the Catechism of the Council of Trent and Roman Ritual, promptness in administering the sacraments, and visiting the sick, to prepare them for death. He urges every priest to visit any parishioner who has been sick for two or three days; to see that the royal cedula of February 11, 1671, is carried out in making wills; to use brotherly correction in the case of scandals, reporting obstinate cases to the authorities and the Bishop; to observe the law in regard to married men whose wives are living outside the parish; to maintain friendly relations with the governors and commandants; to be watchful that the royal revenues are paid; not to foment dissensions, but to try to prevent litigation; to recon-





RT REV. LUIS PEÑALVER Y CARDENAS.

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cile married persons living at variance and apart; not to exercise the ministry beyond the limits of his parish; to make an annual report of the number of the faithful as directed in his circular of September 3d; to report those failing to make their Easter duty; to offer the mass on Sundays and holidays for their people; to teach catechism and correct vices; not to neglect this instruction on the ground that there are public schools. The parish priests, to the exclusion of regulars whose powers are revoked, are to give the Easter communion; announcement of the Paschal obligation to be made on the first Sunday of Lent, and a report of delinquents made after Trinity Sunday; the parish priest is to visit those whose sickness prevented coming to Easter communion, to administer it to them. Priests carrying Holy Communion to sick persons at a distance in the country are to go on horseback with surplice and stole, bareheaded, the Blessed Sacrament in a reliquary inclosed in a bag hung around the neck by a cord, two attendants with lanterns, and an ombrellino. They are urged to read and observe the decrees of the Council of Trent in regard to confessions: which are not to be heard in private houses except in case of sickness; marriages to be celebrated in church; those wishing to be married to give a statement of name, age, condition, parents, etc.; two witnesses to be required; permission of parents or legal authority to be shown; rules are given for the case of transient persons; for the banns; mixed marriages: and marriages between Protestants; in regard to registers of baptisms, marriages, and interments. The 39th forbade the practice of giving private baptism when there was no danger of death, and required children to be brought to the church to be baptized within eight days after birth; parish priests are not to delegate powers without necessity; the powers of assistant priests (tenientes) are defined, mass

to be said at convenient hours, announcements to be made, catechism taught; rules are given as to high mass and the ringing of the bells; as to the care of tabernacle, the renewal of the host, care of vestments, sanctuary lamp, etc. The Blessed Sacrament was to be exposed only on Corpus Christi and its octave, Quinquagesima Sunday, and the two days following; the third Sunday of every month. Twenty wax candles were to be lighted. Vessels for holy oils to be sent in advance to the bishop every year. Parish priests were not to allow questors going around with pious pictures asking alms. Perpetual burial rights were not to be granted to any person or family by the parish priests; such requests were to be referred to the bishop. Directions are given as to schools, which were to be by license from the civil authorities, the Ecclesiastical to decide on the qualifications of the teachers in religion, life, and manners; watchfulness over the schools enjoined; the neglect of the Indians in the upper country and Florida is censured; and parish priests are urged to zeal in the matter. The right of sanctuary is regulated. The right of the major-domo de Fabrica to expend money for the church is limited to $5: over that amount the consent of the parish priest is made necessary. Fees for burials, etc., and legacies to the clergy are regulated. Parish priests in danger of death were to summon the nearest parish priest to prepare them for death and take charge of parish, church, records, etc.

Where no directions are given the Synod of the diocese of Santiago de Cuba is to be followed.[1]

Bishop Peñalver began a visitation of his diocese soon after he reached New Orleans; we find him at Iberville,

[1] I am indebted to Right Rev. John Moore, D.D., Bishop of St. Augustine, for two contemporaneous copies of these Instructions. They are printed in full, with a translation, in the "U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine," i., pp. 417, etc.

April 21, 1796; Natchitoches, November 8, 1796; Pensacola, May 7, 1798. Unfortunately the records of his administration have all perished, and only a few isolated details can be gathered.

In 1799 Bishop Peñalver thus described the state of his diocese:

"The emigration from the western part of the United States and the toleration of our Government have introduced into this colony a gang of adventurers who have no religion and acknowledge no God, and they have made the morals of our people much worse, by intercourse with them in trade. A lodge of Freemasons has been formed in one of the suburbs of the city, and counts amongst its members, officers of the garrison and of the civil administration, merchants, natives, and foreigners. Their secret meetings on fixed days, on which they perform their functions, as well as other circumstances, give to this association a suspicious and criminal appearance.

"The adventurers I speak of have scattered themselves over the districts of Attakapas, Opelousas, Ouachita, and Natchitoches in the vicinity of the province of Texas, in New Spain; they protect their houses with Indians, hold conferences with them, and fill their minds with dangerous ideas, in harmony with their own restless, ambitious character, and the ties they observe with their own Western countrymen, who have a custom of patting their sons on the shoulder, when they are very stout, saying: 'You will go to Mexico.'

"Such is the case with the upper part of the Mississippi, with the district of Illinois and the adjacent territory, in which there has been a remarkable introduction of those adventurers, who penetrate even into New Mexico. This evil, in my opinion, can be remedied only by not permitting the

slightest American settlement to be made at the points already designated nor on any part of Red River.

"The parishes which were religiously disposed are losing their faith and their old customs: the number of the faithful who receive the Holy Eucharist at Easter decreases; and the people turn a deaf ear to the admonitions of their clergy.

"It is true that the same resistance to religion has always manifested itself here, but never with such scandal as now prevails. The military officers and a good many of the inhabitants live almost publicly with colored concubines, and they are not ashamed to carry the illegitimate issue they have by them to be recorded in the parochial register as their natural children."[1]

Bishop Peñalver everywhere showed himself active in the cause of education and industrial progress, and a liberal benefactor of the poor. His administration in New Orleans was, however, so thwarted and hampered that he created no great public institution there, as he did at Guatemala and Havana. He, however, did much to extend the schools connected with the Ursuline Convent, and enriched many churches of his diocese with plate and vestments to give dignity to the divine worship.[2]

On the 20th of July, 1801, Bishop Peñalver was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Guatemala.[3] Before he departed

[1] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination," New York, 1854, pp. 407–9.

[2] Bachiller y Morales, "Apuntes para la Historia de las Letras," Havana, 1859, iii., pp. 41–9.

[3] Gams, "Series Episcoporum," Ratisbonne, 1873, p. 174. Bishop Peñalver both in Louisiana and Guatemala took a deep interest in education and endeavored to extend it. He was also interested in all improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and travelling facilities, giving encouragement to all. He established schools and founded a hospital at his own expense in Guatemala, and after he resigned the archiepiscopal see,

on the 3d of November, 1801, he appointed Rev. Thomas Canon Hassett and Rev. Patrick Walsh, Vicars-General, authorized so to do by a rescript issued at Rome Sept. 14, 1794. When he left they were officially recognized as "Governors of the diocese."

To fill the vacant see, Father Francis Porro y Peinado, a Franciscan of the Convent dei Santi Apostoli at Rome, was nominated and duly appointed, but as it became apparent that Spain would soon relinquish the province of Louisiana to other hands, he was translated to the see of Tarrazona.[1]

The Spanish king had by the treaty of San Ildefonso (October 1, 1800), promised and engaged to retrocede Louisiana to the French Republic, six months after the execution of certain conditions and stipulations on the part of France, and this prevented any active steps for the good of religion. Without waiting for the actual transfer of the province by Spain, Bonaparte, then first Consul, ceded Louisiana to the United States by the treaty of Paris, April 30, 1803.[2]

De Laussat, Commissioner of the French Republic, had already on the 26th of March, 1803, reached New Orleans to take possession of the province. Spain prepared to evacuate the country and general confusion prevailed.

The Spanish Government, it is evident, wished to withdraw all its own natural subjects from the province, and a priest is said to have been sent to Terre aux Bœufs to urge

March 1, 1806, he founded at Havana the Casa de Benificencia with its school for girls, bearing all the cost himself. He died at Havana, July 17, 1810, and by his will bequeathed much to educational institutions and $200,000 to the poor. Bachiller y Morales, "Apuntes," pp. 42–5. His funeral oration was pronounced by the Dominican Father Manuel Quesada, Havana, 1815, 4to, 18 pp.

[1] Bishop Portier in Spalding's "Life of Bishop Flaget," p. 162; Bishop Bourget to Henry de Courcy, 1855; Gams, pp. 174–9.

[2] Gayarré, "History of Louisiana," New York, 1854, pp. 640–2.

the natives of the Canary Islands who had settled there to remove to another Spanish colony. The Very Rev. Thomas Hassett, the administrator of the diocese, was also directed to address each priest to ascertain whether he wished to retire with the Spanish forces or preferred to remain in Louisiana. He was also to obtain from each parish an inventory of all plate, vestments, and other articles in each church which had been given by the Spanish Government, evidently with a view to their removal.

The administrator issued a circular letter about the 10th of June, 1803. Several priests at once signified their choice to follow the Spanish standard; among them were Rev. Louis Buhot, parish priest of St. Landry at Opelousas; the Recollect Father L. Lusson, parish priest of St. Charles; Rev. Peter Janin, parish priest of St. Louis; Rev. James Maxwell, parish priest of St. Genevieve.[1]

The administrator of the diocese of Louisiana, Rev. Thomas Hassett, wrote to Bishop Carroll, the only Catholic bishop under the American flag, which was soon to be raised in Louisiana:

"NEW ORLEANS, Decembr ye 23d. 1803.

"MY LORD:

"The retrocession of this province to the French Republic having taken place the 30th ultmo. and the same being since ceded to the U. S. of America, are circumstances that induce me to

[1] Rev. Louis Buhot to Very Rev. Thomas Hassett, October 15, 1803; Rev. L. Lusson to same, December 19, 1803; Rev. Peter Janin to same, December 20, 1803; Rev. James Maxwell to same. Similar letters were evidently sent from other parishes.

The church at St. Charles had 6 chasubles, 4 albs, with amices and cinctures; but the parish priest did not know whether they belonged to the State or to the estate of the late Rev. Mr. Didier; a ciborium certainly did belong to the late Mr. Didier, and the chalice to the church at St. Louis.

acquaint your Lordship without loss of time and briefly as possible, of the present Ecclesiastical state of this portion of my jurisdiction, not doubting, but it will very soon fall under your Lordship's.

"The ceded province consists of 21 parishes, including this of N. Orleans, of w^ch^ some are vacant, owing to the scarcity of Ministers: the Irish priests enjoy 40 D^s^ salary p^r^ month from the King, and the Spaniards, French, &c., 30, besides the obventions arising from the publick acts of their parochial functions, such as funerals, marriages, &c., and established by tarif: the functionarys are allowed each a dwelling house, and a few acres of land by their respective flocks: none has a coadjutor except the parish priest of N. Orleans who is allowed four, and enjoy 25 dollars each p month, together with their share of obventions, which are equally divided between the Priest and them.

"Previous to the retrocession the Spanish commissioners have explored officially the wills of all those that derive from his C. Majesty and are employed in his service: the Ecclesiasticks being of the number, I found on examination that out of 26 that have been at y^t^ time in y^e^ Capital and province, only four have agreed to continue in their respective stations under French government, and whether many more than the same number will remain under that of the U. S., God only knows; whereas although the service of Almighty God and the particular necessity of y^e^ portion of his vineyard are motives y^e^ most cogent on one hand to engage all, not only to continue their labours here, but also to redouble their zeal in the execution of their sacred functions, yet y^r^ Lordship well knows that the Amor Patriæ, and the King's bountey (offered to be continued to all those that followed his collours) are allureing and flattering ones on the other. As for my own part, I candidly assure y^r^ Lordship that I find myself in a

most disagreeable dilemma, obliged to leave the countrey on account of my weak and declining state of health, and repair to some other climate more suitable to my constitution, notwithstanding the ardent desires I have of being serviceable in my present situation, besides my place of Canon, I cannot warrantably or with any degree of propriety relinquish and consequently only wait for superior orders to take my departure hence.

"The Rev^{d} Mr. Pat^{k} Walsh Vicar-General & auxiliary Gov^{r} of y^{e} diocese, justly entitled (as he really is) to a recompence for his long services, and unwearied zeal in the service of God & his country, may hourly expect a competent one from our Sovereign; but yet declares when he leaves y^{e} country, he will consider himself, as in a manner, torn from it for the reasons above mentioned, and assures that he is determined not to abandon his post as long as he can with propriety hold it, not being in the least influenced by motives of interest or aggrandizement so to be.

"I forgot to mention y^{t} y^{e} Cathedral Church possesses some property arising from houses thereunto appertaining. It is a decent temple and decently supplyed wth ornaments &c., necessary for divine service. The country churches are also on a tolerable good footing. Mr. Walsh desires to be most affec^{ly} rememb^{d} to y^{r} Lordship & says he will write to you by next opp^{y}. I have the honour to be with the highest respect My Lord,

"Y^{r} Lordships most obed^{t} humb^{e} serv^{t},

"R^{T}. Rev. D^{R}. John Carroll. Thomas Hassett."

On the 11th of April, 1804, the Very Rev. Thomas Hassett gave faculties to the Rev. Peter de Zamora, who had come to Louisiana with the Marquis de Casa Calvo, and who had been assigned as chaplain to a Louisiana regiment on its

way to Pensacola.[1] It was one of his last acts. He died in the month of April, 1804.

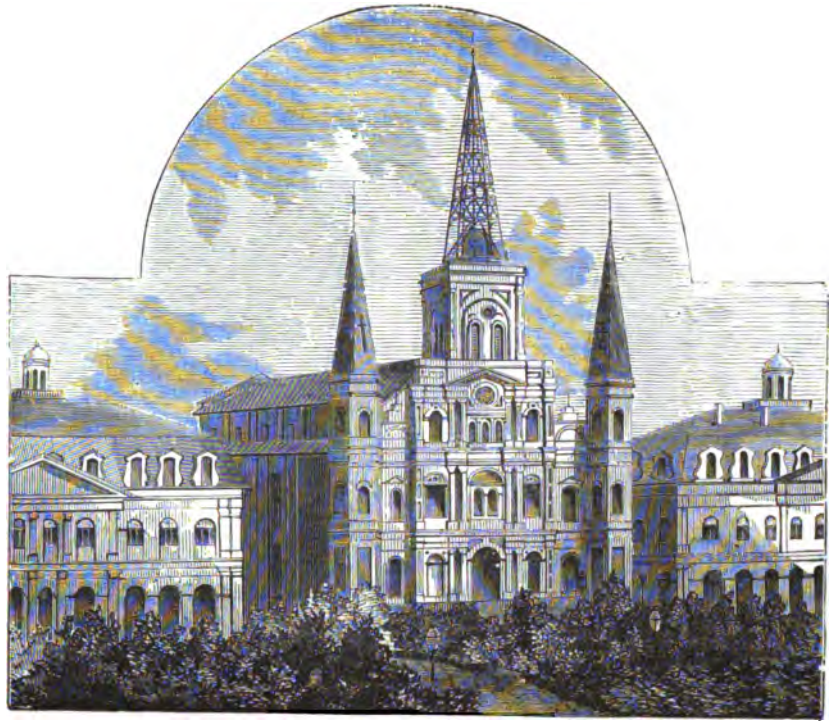
Bishop Peñalver, on leaving the diocese for Guatemala, had established Canon Hassett and the Rev. Patrick Walsh as administrators. The latter had been in Louisiana for twelve years, and had been constantly employed in the government of the diocese, for which his perfect knowledge of the three prevailing languages—French, Spanish, and English—especially fitted him. His authority was disputed, however, by Father Antonio Sedella, parish priest of New Orleans, who claimed to be independent of him. Troubles and litigation ensued, the unworthy priest finding many to support him.[2]

Rev. Mr. Walsh withdrew the faculties from Sedella and by his pastoral letter to the faithful March 27, 1805, he established the Convent of the Ursuline Nuns as the only place in the parish for the administration of the sacraments and the celebration of the Divine Offices.

When the Spanish authorities withdrew, many of the clergy accompanied them. The question had been mournfully discussed in the quiet cloisters of the Ursuline Nuns. The Community consisted of twenty-two choir nuns, nine of whom were Spanish, and of five lay sisters. Some wished to sell everything and retire with the Spanish authorities: and a report that Mr. Laussat would seize all their property in the name of the French Republic filled them with alarm. Those in favor of emigrating applied to Very Rev. Mr. Hassett for permission to sell; this part of the Community comprised thirteen nuns, who wished the property sold and their dowries returned to them, while only six professed a readi-

[1] Rev. Mr. Espinasse to Bishop Carroll, New Orleans, September 12, 1804.

[2] Rev. P. Walsh to Marquis of Casa Calvo, April 26, 1804; Very Rev. John Olivier to Bishop Carroll, New Orleans, February 28, 1807.



CATHEDRAL, NEW ORLEANS

ness to remain and continue the work of their institute in the education of girls.

When Mr. Laussat arrived, the question as to the future of the convent was put to him. He replied: "It will remain as it is, with all its possessions." This consoling and unexpected intelligence was sent by a special messenger to the convent. When the colonial authorities met him and put the same question formally, he replied: "Let the nuns feel no alarm; they shall remain as they are," and he requested the Governor and another official to assure the Ursulines of this.

Joy pervaded the convent, and throughout the city the cry was heard: "Our nuns are going to stay." The Community felt that their Patroness, the Blessed Virgin, had thrown her powerful protection around them.

The Prefect came in person to the convent on the 13th of April and said: "Ladies, the need which the Colony has of you, the good you are doing here, the public esteem which you enjoy and which is so justly due to you, has come to the knowledge of the French Government, which has decreed that you shall be maintained with all your property, and as you are. You shall be the coadjutors of government in maintaining sound morals, and the government will uphold you."

Notwithstanding this, Mother St. Monica and several others declared their intention of proceeding to Havana. Mr. Laussat used every persuasion to induce them to remain, assuring them that a formal decree was on its way from France. When the Marquis de Casa Calvo arrived they applied to him to convey them to Havana, and on the 29th of May, Mother St. Monica, a Spanish lady, with eleven others—French, Louisianian, Scotch, and Spanish—with nearly all the lay sisters, passed out of the portals of the church.[1]

[1] "Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans ce Monastère à l'époque de la

A sad little group of six choir nuns and two lay sisters remained, full of courage, but looking only to the protection of Heaven to sustain them in the trials which they could but expect. They elected Mother St. Xavier Fargeon as Superior, and resumed all the exercises of community life, maintaining their Academy, Orphan Asylums, Day-school, and instructions to colored people.

Thus was this venerable institution saved for religion in Louisiana.

On the 20th of December, 1803, Louisiana was transferred by Laussat, in the name of the French Republic, to the Commissioners of the United States.

The Very Rev. Mr. Walsh remained as Vicar-General, Administrator of the diocese, but he had little power for good. The Ursulines on the 21st of March, 1804, uncertain as to their future, addressed the President of the United States in a letter in which they solicited the passage of an act of Congress guaranteeing their property and rights; they justly claimed that their institution had been of service to the republic, as their long history would attest.[1]

The President replied reassuring the Ursulines. "The principles of the Constitution and Government of the United States are a sure guaranty to you that it will be preserved to you sacred and inviolate, and that your institution will be permitted to govern itself according to its own voluntary rules, without interference from the civil authority. Whatever diversity of shade may appear in the religious opinions of our fellow-citizens, the charitable objects of your institution cannot be indifferent to any; and its furtherance of the

Revolution Française à l'occasion de la retrocession de la Louisiane à la République Française en 1802."

[1] Mother Mary Teresa Fargeon, Superior, to Thomas Jefferson, New Orleans, March 21, 1804.

wholesome purposes by training up its young members in the way they should go, cannot fail to insure the patronage of the government it is under. Be assured it will meet with all the protection my office can give it."[1]

Meanwhile Sedella, sustained covertly by the hypocritical governor and judges appointed by the Federal government, resolved on open schism. This man called a meeting of the rabble of New Orleans. This body claimed the church as the property of the citizens of New Orleans, although the site came from the King of France, and they had contributed nothing to its erection; they elected a body of wardens, who in turn elected Father Antonio Sedella as their parish priest, "amid many hurras."[2]

As the most ignorant person in the territory knew, Sedella's course was an act of schism totally at variance with the organization of the Catholic Church and the civil law of Louisiana. The decision in Fromm's case was accessible to Governor Claiborne, but he chose to treat the matter as a quarrel between two priests, doubtless glad to see the Catholic Church embroiled. When the Very Rev. Mr.

[1] "The Ursulines in Louisiana," New Orleans, 1886, pp. 32–3.

[2] Claiborne to Madison, March 18, 1805.—Cantillon, President of this pretended board of Marguilliers, had the assurance to write to Bishop Carroll in April, 1805, that Walsh's powers ceased when the Bishop of New Orleans withdrew and the country passed under a different government. His letter was really one of defiance. He states that the Catholics of the city held a meeting "under the auspices of the City Council," and unanimously requested Sedella to reassume the duties of parish priest. Judge Prevost, a Protestant, in a letter of April 2, 1807, also attempted to instruct Bishop Carroll as to the laws of the Church, and informed him that "the original dimensions of the diocese having changed, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction as at first determined had ceased, and therefore Abbé Walsh could have no power"—his facts and his law being equally false. There had been no alteration of the dimensions of the diocese, and no such alteration and no change of civil government would deprive a Bishop or Administrator of authority.

Walsh appealed to him not to countenance such a gross violation of all law, he resorted to hypocritical twaddle, aided the shameless priest to maintain his position, and put the Administrator off with the usual strain of cant: "If those who profess to be the followers of the meek and humble Jesus, instead of preaching brotherly love and good-will to man, and enforcing their precepts by example, should labor to excite dissension and distrust in a community, there is indeed ground to fear that the Church itself may cease to be an object of veneration."

And thus he lent the whole influence of his position to break down the discipline of the Catholic Church and maintain in the Cathedral of New Orleans a man whose immoral character and neglect of duty were notorious, and who would in any New England village have been consigned to the jail.

In the following year the Very Rev. Administrator in the month of August, 1806, was stricken down with illness and expired five days later on the 22d of the month. The "Vicar-General and Governor ad interim of the diocese," as he was styled, was interred the next day in the chapel of the Ursuline Convent, near the altar, a large attendance of the faithful betokening the respect for a priest who showed zeal for the house of God.[1]

The archiepiscopal see of Santo Domingo, the metropolitan of the province to which the diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas belonged, was vacant, and no one of the Bishops of the province attempted to restore order, although the Bishop of Havana extended his authority once more over the Florida portion of the diocese till the establishment of the Vicariate-Apostolic of Alabama and the Floridas under Right Rev. Dr. Portier.

[1] Louis Kerr to Bishop Carroll, New Orleans, August 29, 1806.

As the death of the Very Rev. Patrick Walsh left the diocese of Louisiana without any one to govern it, Bishop Carroll, who had, meanwhile, informed himself of the condition of affairs, resolved to act under the decree of Sept. 1, 1805, and assume the administration.

On the 17th of November, 1806, Bishop Carroll wrote to James Madison, then Secretary of State, and after alluding to a conference had with him long before in relation to the Church in Louisiana, and to his being authorized to administer its spiritual affairs and to recommend two or three clergymen of suitable qualities, one of whom would be appointed Bishop of New Orleans, he says: "I was not so satisfied with the accounts of Louisiana, of the clergymen living there, as would justify a recommendation of any of them for the important trust, which requires not only a virtuous but very prudent conduct, great learning, especially in matters of a religious nature, and sufficient resolution to remove gradually the disorders which have grown up during the relaxed state of civil and ecclesiastical authority. I therefore directed my views to two others, who, tho' Frenchmen, have been long resident in this country and steady in their attachment to it. But the removal of either of them to Louisiana was rendered impracticable, and circumstances have since occurred which perhaps make it unadviseable in the opinion of this government, to nominate for the bishop of that country any native of France or Louisiana. I therefore declined hitherto taking any concern in this business, tho' the situation of the church there has long required, and requires now more particularly a prompt interference, not only for the interests of religion, but likewise for quieting and composing the minds of the inhabitants. You will observe that my first commission to take a provisional charge of the diocess of N. Orleans was received long before the intermeddling of the Emperor

Napoleon. This has been procured, as I am credibly informed from N. O. by a mission to Paris from a Mr. Castillon, who is at the head of the municipality, and an artful Spanish friar, Antonio de Sedilla, the intimate friend of the Marquis of Caso Calvo. This mission was entrusted to a certain Castanedo, who was furnished with $4,000 to obtain a recommendation from the Emperor Napoleon for the immediate nomination of de Sedilla to the bishopric: but the attempt has completely miscarried, as you will see by the duplicate copy of the commission sent to me, &c. To this commission allow me to subjoin an extract from a letter of Card. Pietro, prefect of the Congreg. de Prop. fide at Rome, which I received at the same time. He says, &c. 'From which it appears, that the acquiescence of our government is necessary with respect to the measures to be adopted for settling the ecclesiastical state of Louisiana. Something, as has been mentioned, is immediately necessary, before I proceed to determine on the choice of a subject fit to be recommended for the future bishop. If a native of this country, or one who is not a Frenchman, tho' well acquainted with the language, cannot be procured, would it be satisfactory to the Executive of the U. S. to recommend a native of France who has long resided amongst us, and is desirous of continuing under this government? In the mean time, as the only clergyman in Louisiana, in any degree qualified to act with vigor and intelligence in restoring order in the Cath. church, is a French emigrant priest, far from any attachment to the present system of his country, may he be appointed to act as my vicar, without the disapprobation of our Executive? I have many reasons for believing that this person rejoices sincerely in the cession of that country to the United States.' "

But while the Governor of Louisiana appointed by the

President and the Judges of the Territory were actually playing into the hands of the rebellious priest and his schismatical adherents, Mr. Madison replied officially that the matter being purely ecclesiastical, government could not interfere, adding: "I have the pleasure, Sir, to add that if that consideration had less influence, the President would find a motive to the same determination in his perfect confidence in the purity of your views, and in the patriotism which will guide you in the selection of ecclesiastical individuals to such as combine with their professional merits a due attachment to the independence, the Constitution and the prosperity of the United States."

But in a private letter on the same day he alludes to the scheme of Cantillon, who sent a person to France to induce the government there to obtain the appointment of Sedella as Bishop, leading to a letter from Mr. Portales which greatly encouraged the schismatics. Mr. Madison alluding to Bishop Carroll's proposal to appoint Mr. L'Espinasse, wrote: "Nothing being known concerning Mr. L'Espinasse except from your account of him in which all due confidence is placed, no objections can lie against the use you propose to make of him, and that, in general, it affords satisfaction to find you, as might well be presumed, so fully in a disposition to admit into the stations for which you are to provide as little of alienage of any sort as will consist with the essential attributes and duties of them. Of the Spanish Friar Antonio di Sedilla the accounts received here agree with the character you have formed of him.

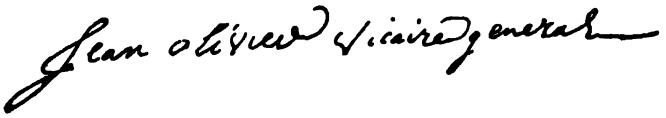
"It appears that his intrigues and his connections have drawn on him the watchful attention of the Government of that territory. Although I am aware that in the arrangements committed to your discretion and execution, considerations operate very different from those of a political nature,

I will not conceal my wish that instead of a temporary subordination of the R. C. Church at N. Orleans to the General Diocese, the subordination had been made permanent; or rather that it had involved a modification of some proper sort, leaving less of a distinctive feature in a quarter already marked by sundry peculiarities. I am betrayed into the expression, or rather intrusion of such a sentiment by my anxiety to see the union and harmony of every portion of our Country strengthened by every legitimate circumstance which may in any wise have that tendency.

"The letter from Mr. Portales had been forwarded hither in several copies from N. O., where it had excited the sensations likely to result from it. This foreign interposition, qualified as it is, was manifestly reprehensible; being in a case where it could be founded neither in any political or ecclesiastical relation whatever. It is probable, at the same time, that the step was produced less by any deep or insidious designs, than by the flattering and unjust importunities of the parties at N. O., and by a tenderness towards a people once a part of the French nation, and alienated by the policy of its Gov^{t} not by their own act. The interposition will be made by our Minister a topic of such observations, as without overcharging the wrong, may be calculated to prevent repetitions."

When the decree of the Propaganda confiding Louisiana to his care reached Bishop Carroll, it was a matter of great and pious satisfaction to him to know that there was one priest in Louisiana whose virtue and ability were known to him. This was the Rev. John Olivier, who had been at Cahokia till 1803, when he went to New Orleans to become chaplain of the Ursuline Nuns. To this priest he at once expedited the decree of the Propaganda, and an official document in which as Administrator-Apostolic of the diocese of

Louisiana, Bishop Carroll created him Vicar-General. The Rev. Mr. Olivier at once produced these documents before the Governor of Louisiana and left copies with him. He also wrote to Father Sedella informing him of the action of the Propaganda, and of his appointment by the Administrator-Apostolic. Sedella called upon him the next day with one of his pretended vicars, but evaded recognizing his authority, and finally on the 25th of February, 1807, in a letter openly refused to do so, incited by Cantillon and other malcontents.



SIGNATURE OF JEAN OLIVIER, V.G.

The Vicar-General then published the decree and the Bishop's letter at the convent chapel, the Rev. Mr. L'Espinasse preaching on the occasion to explain to the people the duty of obeying the authorities in the Church appointed by its supreme Head.[1]

While the unfortunate diocese had been almost without any recognized head, the distant parishes suffered, or became the prey of adventurers, who took possession without any appointment or faculties. Thus the Rev. Thomas Flynn wrote from St. Louis, November 8, 1806, that the trustees were about to install him. He describes the church. It "has a tolerably good bell, a high altar, and commodious pews. The house for the priest is convenient, but rather out of repair. There is annexed to it a large garden well stocked with fruit trees, barn, stable, and other out offices."[2]

[1] Rev. John Olivier to Bishop Carroll, New Orleans, February 28, 1807.

[2] Letter to Bishop Carroll. He wrote to Rev. S. T. Badin from St. Genevieve, May 25, 1807.

The veteran priest of the West, Rev. Peter Gibault, had retired to New Madrid about 1790, and died there in 1804.[1]

Rev. James Maxwell continued at St. Genevieve, where he had succeeded Father Paul de St. Pierre, who closed his eight years' pastorship in 1797. With the exception of the Rev. Mr. Maxwell there was scarcely a priest in Upper Louisiana.[2]

As the original Rescript issued by the Holy See to Bishop Carroll had not been so distinct and clear as to obviate captious objections by the unprincipled Sedella and his adherents, a more ample and distinct authority was sent.

"To our venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Baltimore—Pope Pius VII.

"Venerable Brother, Health and Apostolical Benediction. The solicitude of the Roman Pontiff, embracing the universal church, no where permits laborers to be wanting in the vineyard planted by the Eternal Son of the Father, that by their efforts and assiduous zeal, the true faith which is one as God is one, may not only be firmly retained, but more widely propagated, and the spiritual fruit of souls, grow to the hundredfold and even exceed it. We cannot otherwise provide for the church at New Orleans or province of Louisiana in North America, deprived of its pastor and bishop than by confiding it to the ordinary jurisdiction of your Fraternity, until an occasion offers to Us and this Holy See of making other dispositions, which may seem to meet the general wish more fully. As this occasion is not yet proximate, and you are already sufficiently burthened with other cares, therefore by the advice of our venerable Brethren, the Cardinals of Holy Roman

[1] Very Rev. John Olivier to Bishop Carroll.

[2] Rozier, "An Address," etc., St. Louis, 1885, p. 15.

Church, placed in charge of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, We, lest anything should be wanting which either the spiritual necessity or utility of the Faithful in those parts may require, by these presents commit to your Fraternity and command, that if you deem it expedient in the Lord, you delegate and send to the aforesaid province of Louisiana, either our beloved son Charles Nerinckx, on whose zeal and virtue we rely greatly in our Lord, or if perchance he feel himself unequal thereto, some other secular or regular priest whom you know to be fitted, with the rank of Administrator Apostolic and the rights of an Ordinary, to continue however, only during a time at our good-will and that of this Holy See, and according to the instruction to be forwarded to you by the said Congregation, notwithstanding anything to the contrary.

"Given at Rome at St. Mary Major's under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the fifth day of April, 1808.

[L. S.] "L. CARDINAL ANTONELLI.

"J. B. QUARANTOTTI,

"Vice-Prefect."



OLD URSULINE CONVENT AND CHAPEL, NEW ORLEANS.

CHAPTER IV.

DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE, 1806–1808.—DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE.—BALTIMORE A METROPOLITAN SEE.

In 1806 Bishop Carroll had the consolation of seeing positive evidence of the growth of Catholicity in Baltimore in the initiation of new temples to the Most High.

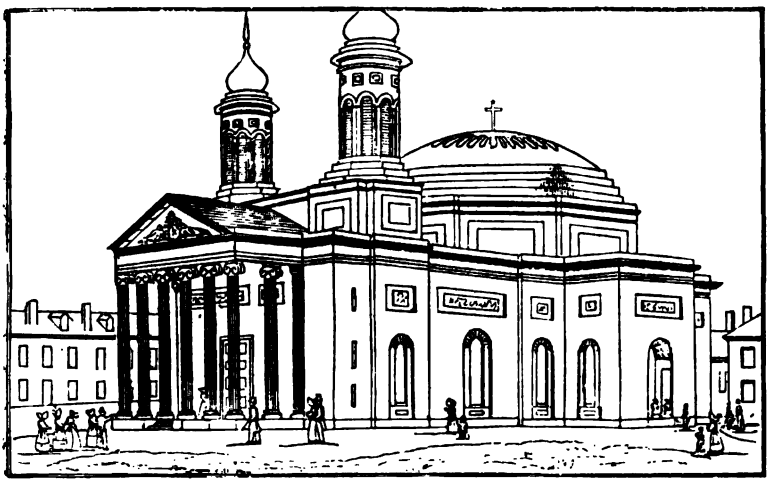
On the 7th of July he laid the corner-stone of his Cathedral. The erection of a noble edifice had, as we have seen, engaged his mind from an early period. The plans of the Cathedral were the work of an eminent architect, B. Henry Latrobe, who at first submitted plans for a Gothic Cathedral, but as Roman or Greek architecture was preferred, he prepared the plan of the present Cathedral. "The principal motive," wrote this gentleman to Bishop Carroll, "which induced me to undertake the labor of the design at a time when neither my existing engagements nor the circumstances of my family permitted me to undertake it with convenience, were not entirely selfish. They were motives of gratitude. To the disinterested benevolence and the pious sensibility of a clergyman of your church I owe my existence, at all events an existence of which I have no reason to be ashamed, and I hope I have never since omitted an opportunity of honoring and serving the Church of which he was a splendid ornament." [1]

The selection of a suitable site for the Cathedral had not

[1] B. H. Latrobe to Bishop Carroll, August 5, 1806.

been free from difficulty. A beautiful position on the Hill had been proposed as the most desirable spot, but the cost of the lots, for which nearly twenty-five thousand dollars was asked, deterred the Building Committee, and it was resolved to erect the Cathedral on the burial-ground adjoining St. Peter's Church.

When the space had been partly cleared and some of the bodies were already removed, there arose a strong feeling of



CATHEDRAL IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM. FROM FIELDING LUCAS' "PICTURE OF BALTIMORE."

disapprobation, and a memorial was presented to the Bishop, remonstrating against the use of that spot, and especially against the disturbing of the dead. Bishop Carroll did not yield at once; he replied with some feeling, urging the plea of the necessity of economy, in view of the heavy cost of the lots, which all desired. When, however, the clergy of the Seminary, who were regarded as the priests of the Cathedral, supported the views of the memorial in a document signed

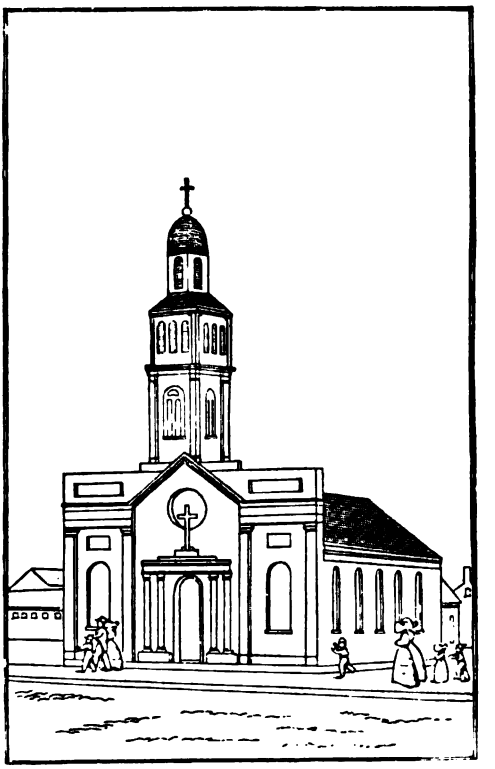
February 26, 1806, by Messrs. Nagot, J. Tessier, J. David, P. Babade, B. J. Flaget, and William Du Bourg, Bishop Carroll yielded and consented to the acquisition of the present site. A new subscription was begun, headed by two generous Catholics, who contributed largely, and the owner, Gen. John Eager Howard, greatly reduced the price, so as to remove one of the obstacles.

The ground having been secured, the 7th of July, 1806, was set apart for the ceremony of blessing the corner-stone of the proposed edifice. The proceedings were conducted with the greatest pomp. The concourse of Catholics and even of Protestants was immense, for the whole city had become interested in the erection of a building regarded as a great ornament to the city. The ceremony was carried out according to the ritual, in presence of the silent and respectful assemblage. A procession of ecclesiastics and of twenty priests, many venerable by age and by long apostolic labors, followed by the Bishop in cope and mitre, proceeded in ordered line through the streets to the spot, where the symbol of salvation was erected and the stone blessed. Bishop Carroll addressed the audience in a touching and timely discourse, holding out the hope that the building to be erected might be a source of grace to multitudes in time to come—"et erit mons elevatus super omnes colles, et fluent ad eam omnes gentes."[1]

To carry on the work of the Cathedral a body of trustees had been appointed, and according to the custom of that time a lottery was resorted to, as a means of raising money to advance the great work. This was announced in 1803, the managers being Bishop Carroll, Rev. Francis Beeston, Messrs. David Williamson, Robert Walsh, Charles Ghequiere,

[1] Memorials and Reply of Bishop Carroll in the Archives of the Archbishop of Baltimore; Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique ou du Diocese des Etats Unis."

Patrick Bennet, Arnold Livers, Luke Tiernan, and Francis J. Mitchell. There were to be 21,000 tickets at ten dollars each, fifteen per cent. of the amount to be applied to the



ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, FELL'S POINT. FROM FIELDING LUCAS' "PICTURE OF BALTIMORE."

Cathedral, the rest distributed in prizes.[1] The lottery was drawn in 1804, the Bishop obtaining the highest prize, which he at once transferred to the Cathedral, remaining, as he was,

[1] Scharf, "History of Baltimore City and County," Philadelphia, 1881, pp. 526, etc.

the poorest bishop in the world, without resources or revenue. The building of the Cathedral was actively pushed for several years till the troubles of the times suspended the work.

On the 18th of June the corner-stone of St. Mary's chapel, connected with the college, had been blessed with due solemnity, and the beautiful chapel rose, which was long regarded as one of the most elegant specimens of architecture in the city, the pure design of the French architect having been strictly followed in all its details.

On the 10th of July Bishop Carroll laid the corner-stone of the new church of St. Patrick at Fell's Point, for the zealous priest, Rev. John Francis Moranvillé, proposed to replace the frail structure already in that district, which was found incapable of being enlarged to meet the wants of the people. This zealous clergyman, who left an undying memory of his labors in Baltimore, was a priest of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost in Paris, and came to the United States from the missions of Cayenne in South America. He took up his work with remarkable zeal and ability, and, aided for a time by Rev. Mr. Dilhet from the Seminary, gave doctrinal instructions, which not only confirmed the Catholics in their faith, but led many Protestants to examine and reflect.[1]

The new church of St. Patrick at Baltimore, which Rev. Mr. Moranvillé commenced, was completed by him with great zeal and skill. The plan he adopted was elegant, and at the time of its erection there was none in the city to compare with it for beauty and solidity. Two rows of tasteful Grecian pillars sustained the graceful arches of the nave; the altar seemed made of the choicest marble, and the tones of a fine organ resounded through the sacred edifice as

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise Catholique"; Tessier, "Epoques du Seminaire de Baltimore."

Bishop Carroll, attended by a numerous body of his clergy, entered on the 29th of November, 1807, to dedicate it to the service of Almighty God. After that ceremony, performed with unusual pomp, he celebrated a pontifical high mass, the Rev. Mr. Du Bourg delivering a sermon on the occasion.

A house for the residence of the priest soon rose beside it, where the good priest lived in the utmost simplicity and poverty.[1]

The Church of St. Mary, erected by the Sulpitians, soon had a congregation, which Rev. Mr. Dilhet describes as French, English, American, and Negro. The Rev. Mr. Du Bourg, and subsequently Rev. Mr. Tessier, devoted himself especially to the instruction and spiritual care of the colored people, many of them from St. Domingo, and speaking only French. The result was most consoling, and they were saved from loss of faith and the corruption of morals prevailing around them.

In December, 1806, Bishop Carroll again wrote to Rome to urge a division of his diocese. He thought that at least four new sees ought to be erected—one at Boston, to embrace the New England States; one at New York, the diocese to include that State and Eastern New Jersey; one at Philadelphia, to comprise Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Western New Jersey; one in Kentucky, to include that State and Tennessee. For this last diocese Bishop Carroll preferred Frankfort or Lexington as the episcopal city, but Rev. Mr. Badin strongly advised Bardstown, as most of the Catholics were settled near that town.

A fifth diocese, to embrace the country northwest of the Ohio and lying beyond Pennsylvania, was desirable, but as

[1] B. U. Campbell, "Memoir of Rev. J. F. Moranvillé"; "U. S. Cath. Mag.," i., pp. 526–7.

priests were very few, it would be best for the time being to make that district depend on the Bishop to be appointed for Kentucky.

"As to the country south of Maryland, it should remain subject to the see of Baltimore, a large diocese indeed; but it was much to be lamented," he added, "that religion had made scarcely any progress in the Carolinas and Georgia; all efforts for that effect had failed," as the Bishop states, "either on account of the unworthiness of the bishop, or the carelessness of priests, or the depraved morals of the people. Only five priests are there, having charge of souls, and they were three hundred miles apart; three in Virginia, one at Charleston, one in Georgia." The country south of Tennessee ought to be annexed, in his opinion, to the diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas.[1]

Bishop Carroll was a man of calm judgment, singularly free from any bias arising from his American birth, his long association with cultivated English gentlemen, or his years spent in a religious order. Deeply impressed with the necessity of preparing for a higher standard of education for young men, whether intended for worldly pursuits or the service of the altar, he hoped to see the College at Georgetown and the Seminary at Baltimore co-operate in the endeavor to elevate and expand the courses of study. While strongly attached to the old Maryland clergy who controlled the College, he appreciated fully the merit of the French clergymen whom Providence had sent to his aid. His endeavor to effect a hearty harmony in education and mission work did not succeed.

Georgetown College opened in 1791, with Rev. Robert Plunkett as President, but he soon withdrew, and Rev. Rob-

[1] Bishop Carroll to Cardinal di Pietro, December, 1806.

ert Molyneux undertook the charge, and first gave activity to the institution, laying in 1794 the corner-stone of the North building. In 1796, through the advice of Dr. Carroll, the Rev. William Du Bourg, an accomplished and energetic clergyman of St. Sulpice, was called to the Presidency, and to the close of 1798 endeavored to give it a brilliant reputation. During his term General Washington honored the institution by a formal visit, and was addressed by Robert Walsh. Rev. Leonard Neale then became President, and for nearly eight years resided in the College, taking part in the work of instruction. In 1801 it was resolved by the Directors of the College to add a class of philosophy,[1] though Bishop Carroll deemed it wiser to let the few able to follow that course do so at Baltimore.

Though Georgetown College had not attained such popularity as to number crowds of students in its halls, Bishop Neale was consoled by seeing many of its well-trained, pious, and promising pupils enter the Society. "The Novitiate is established in Georgetown College," he wrote in 1808. "The first course consisted of eleven novices, and the second of seven. All going on well. Several scholars are expecting to enter and form the third course next term. Thus the College of Georgetown, though short in point of numbers of scholars, has not been unfertile in genuine productions. The proof drawn from stubborn facts must be an ample support

[1] Resolution of the Board, July 27, 1801, in Clarke, "Lives of the Deceased Bishops," New York, 1872, i., p. 129. "We are struggling to commence philosophy immediately," wrote Bishop Neale to Father Marmaduke Stone, October 19, 1801; "We hope to get a professor from the Seminary at Baltimore for the present till you can provide us one, if possible, of the Society." W. L., xii., p. 73. Rev. Ambrose Maréchal became professor of philosophy soon after. Same to same, April 21, 1802. W. L., xii., p. 75.

of the discipline and principles adopted in that college during my Presidency." [1]

Meanwhile Bishop Carroll was menaced with the loss of his seminary and of the Sulpitians, who were actively engaged in the works of the ministry. The prospect was one to fill him with dismay. Mr. Emery, the Superior of St. Sulpice at Paris, seeing a prospect of the restoration of religion in France, believed the time at hand when seminaries for the education of candidates for the priesthood might again be opened by his Congregation. Finding, too, that some of his priests were by no means satisfied with the condition of affairs in the United States, Mr. Emery resolved to recall all the Sulpitians to Europe, where congenial work seemed to demand them. "If the Sulpitians remove to France, which is threatened by Mr. Emery, their Superior Pinaris, we shall be left perfectly bare," wrote Bishop Neale. And again, "The Gentlemen of St. Sulpice are ordered back to France. Some have already departed, others are on the point of sailing. Of course the Seminary is no longer calculated on," [2] and he appealed to his friends in England to come to the rescue.

In 1803 the Rev. Mr. Nagot and several others, members of the Society of St. Sulpice, received from Rev. Mr. Emery positive orders to return to France. The Superior at Baltimore clung to America, but Rev. Mr. Garnier, the zealous pastor of the church at Fell's Point, Baltimore; Rev. Mr. Levadoux, who had returned from Detroit, and Rev. Mr. Cattelin sailed to France in May, followed in July by Rev. Mr. Maréchal, who, after filling the chair of philosophy at

[1] Bishop Neale to Father Marmaduke Stone, February 16, 1808. W. L., xii., p. 82.

[2] Bishop Neale to Very Rev. Father Marmaduke Stone, June 30, 1802, June 25, 1803.

Georgetown, was actually attending the mission at Winchester.

The institution founded by the Sulpitians at Baltimore seemed doomed. After resigning the presidency of Georgetown College, the Rev. William Du Bourg had, with Rev. Mr. Babad and other Sulpitians, endeavored in 1799 to establish a seminary and college at Havana, but as that project was not sanctioned by the Spanish authorities, the Sulpitians returned to Baltimore, bringing a number of Cuban youth. For these and the sons of some French residents in the city he then opened an academy, which soon acquired a reputation, and seemed destined to become a successful institution.[1] While on a visit to Havana in 1803, Dr. Du Bourg learned that the Spanish government was about to recall these young men, and in fact a vessel was soon sent for them. It was then resolved to open the institution to American pupils, Catholic and Protestant. Buildings were accordingly erected on the Seminary grounds, and a regular course of study opened. Among the earliest pupils were William Gaston, Robert Walsh, and two nephews of Bishop Carroll. The progress of the pupils soon gave the Academy a high reputation. In January, 1805, the Legislature of Maryland granted St. Mary's College a charter, and authorized it to raise funds by means of a lottery.

The mingling of Protestant and Catholic pupils in the College took from it all that was characteristic of a Preparatory Seminary. Vocations could scarcely develop there, and Rev. Mr. Emery objected strongly to it, although when he found that Bishop Carroll, who had not previously been consulted, saw no alternative, he reluctantly consented. He felt, however, that the Community of St. Sulpice had in ten

[1] The corner-stone was blessed by Rev. Mr. Nagot, April 10, 1800.

years effected little, and that there was no prospect of a more consoling future. Vocations were few; there was no proper place to foster them, and some young men who were expected at St. Mary's Seminary were diverted elsewhere.[1]

He leaned strongly to his original idea of withdrawing all his priests. To Bishop Carroll, who spoke of them as the best priests he ever knew, the prospect of losing them was especially disheartening. His appeals made Rev. Mr. Emery waver, though they did not convince him. It needed a voice that he could regard as conveying the will of God.

When Pope Pius VII. went to Paris in 1804 to place on the head of Napoleon the imperial crown of France, Rev. Mr. Emery, to decide the question as to the Seminary of Baltimore, sought the guidance of the Sovereign Pontiff. He represented to His Holiness the need he felt of members in France to re-establish the former Sulpitian seminaries, and, on the other hand, the scanty fruit produced in the diocese of Baltimore, where several who had been capable Directors of theological seminaries were now employed in subordinate positions. The Holy Father heard the Superior of Saint Sulpice with affectionate interest, but he replied: "My Son, let this Seminary subsist, let it—it will bear its fruit in time. To recall the Directors in order to employ them in France, in other houses, that would be stripping St. Paul to clothe St. Peter." This terse and encouraging reply put an end to all Mr. Emery's doubts and hesitation, and from that moment the Seminary at Baltimore, for which he had made so many sacrifices, acquired even a greater hold on his affections.[2]

[1] Rev. Mr. Emery to Bishop Carroll, September 24, 1805.

[2] Faillon, "History of the Seminary of St. Sulpice," manuscript. The Rev. James Andrew Emery, Superior of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, was born at Gex, August 26, 1752, son of an important functionary in

The Commencement of St. Mary's College held in 1806, the institution then numbering 130 pupils, attracted general attention. A laudatory account of the exercises appeared in a periodical called "The Companion." This elicited strictures of a very bigoted character, assailing the Catholic religion, and the institution, as well as the capacity of the president and professors. The object evidently was to prevent Protestant families from sending their sons to St. Mary's College. A defence of the college appeared, and the controversy dragged on for some time, without any remarkable ability; but the articles, after appearing in the journals of the day, were collected in a pamphlet.[1]

Convinced of the necessity of a Petit Seminaire or Preparatory Seminary under their own direction, where youths showing a vocation for the priesthood might be trained in a manner adapted to their future studies and the life they were to lead in the service of the altar, the Rev. Charles Nagot acquired an estate at Pigeon Hills, Pennsylvania, where the Preparatory Seminary was opened August 15, 1807, under the direction of Rev. Mr. Nagot and Rev. John Dilhet, who, after having been a missionary at Detroit, was sent to Cone-

that place. From the Jesuit College at Mâcon he entered St. Sulpice and was ordained in 1756. Professor at Orleans and Lyons, Superior at Angers, he became in 1782 Superior-General of St. Sulpice. Imprisoned for 16 months in Ste. Pelagie and La Conciergerie, he regained liberty in 1794, and though he administered the diocese of Paris, refused the mitre. Napoleon found him inflexible when he appointed him on a commission, and he was expelled from the Seminary he had restored. He died April 28, 1811. He prepared several works, his chief aim being to show that the soundest philosophers were in full accord with Christian truth.

[1] "Strictures on the Establishment of Colleges, particularly that of St. Mary, in the precincts of Baltimore, as formerly published in the 'Evening Post' and 'Telegraph.'" Baltimore, December, 1806, 58 pp. Seton, "Memoir, Letters, and Journal of Elizabeth Seton," New York, 1869, i., p. 245.



REV. CHARLES FRANCIS NAGOT, S.S.S., FOUNDER OF ST. MARY'S THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BALTIMORE.

wago to assist Rev. Mr. De Barth, and there opened a school out of which the institution at Pigeon Hills grew.[1] To this institution the venerable Nagot gave his personal attention, but difficulties arose, and the Rev. John Du Bois, who had in 1803 solicited entrance into the Society of Jesus, now asked to be received in the Community of St. Sulpice, and recommended Emmittsburg highly as a place for a preparatory seminary.[2]

During the vacation of 1808, the Rev. Messrs. Du Bourg and Du Bois purchased the ground at Emmittsburg for the proposed Seminary. The students, sixteen in number, were transferred from Pigeon Hills to the new institution in the spring of 1809. In the summer the venerable Superior, Mr. Nagot, was stricken down by illness, and though he recovered and celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination as priest on the 31st of May, 1810, he sustained a severe shock from a fall in March, 1811, and gradually failed. He had the preceding year resigned the direction of the Seminary to Rev. John Tessier, and died in the house he had founded on the 9th of April, 1816. His memory will ever remain as a holy priest who formed the first Catholic Theological Seminary in the country, which endures full of vitality, after sending out priests to all the dioceses for nearly a century.[3]

[1] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," etc.

[2] Tessier, "Epoques du Séminaire de Baltimore," MS. Moreau, "Les Prêtres Français emigrés aux Etats Unis," Paris, 1856, pp. 176, 182, 488.

[3] Rev. Charles Francis Nagot was born at Tours, April 19, 1784, and passed from the Jesuit College in his native city to the Seminary of the Robertins at Paris. After entering the community at St. Sulpice he became professor of theology at Nantes, and for several years directed "La Petite Communanté" at Paris. His connection with the establishment of his Society has been traced in these pages. As a superior and director of young candidates for the priesthood he evinced remarkable ability. He wrote "Recueil de Conversions Remarquables, nouvellement operées

After the visit of Bishop Carroll to Boston and the dedication of the Church of the Holy Cross, the two devoted priests, the Rev. Messrs. Matignon and Cheverus, continued their labors in that city, with visits to the Catholics scattered from Connecticut to Maine. Of the details of their labors we have unfortunately few traces, but these indicate regular visits to Salem, Providence, Newport, Bristol, and Burlington.

Rev. Mr. Cheverus visited Maine regularly, and found a welcome in the house of Edward Kavanagh at Damariscotta. He also attended the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians, to whom he was able to give a resident missionary in the person of the Rev. James Romagné, a native of Mayenne, about 1804.

This good priest had only a wretched log-house with two rooms for a dwelling, and a log chapel hardly better built, but though delicate in health he labored among the Indians for nearly twenty years, compiling a prayer-book in their language and producing lasting fruit.[1]

Meanwhile the little Catholic flock in New England was gradually increasing. The 28 baptisms, 2 marriages, and 4 deaths recorded at Boston in 1790, with an estimated population of 160, had grown in 1800 to 77 baptisms, 9 marriages,

en quelques Protestants," Paris, 1791; and a Life of Rev. Mr. Olier, 1813; he also translated Hay's "Miracles," Butler's "Feasts and Fasts," Hay's "Devout Christian," Challoner's "Catholic Christian Instructed," and other works.

[1] "History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes," New York, 1855, p. 161; "Annales de la Propagation de la Foi," viii., pp. 196–7; Pilling, "Bibliography of the Languages of North American Indians," Washington, 1885, p. 1062; Romagné, "The Indian Prayer-Book; compiled and arranged for the benefit of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Tribes," Boston, 1834. Bishop Plessis of Quebec, who at the request of Bishop Cheverus visited Pleasant Point in 1815, bears testimony to the merit of Rev. Mr. Romagné ("Relation d'un voyage").

and 7 deaths, with a population computed at 280. In 1805 the population must have been about five hundred.

No movement to erect a church was possible outside of Boston, except in Maine, the scene of Rev. John Cheverus' judicial persecution. A letter to Bishop Carroll tells its history:

"NEWCASTLE (Maine), July 30th, 1808.

"RIGHT REV'D SIR:

"Dr. Matignon having authorised me in your name to



ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, DAMARISCOTTA.

bless the Church newly constructed here, and the Cemetery adjoining it, I performed the ceremony on Sunday the 17th of this month. The church is called St. Patrick's; the name seemed to gratify our friends here; I liked it myself, because it proclaims that our church here is the work of Irish piety.

"The Church is built of bricks, 50 feet in length, and 25 ft. in breadth. The height inside, from the floor to the high-

est part of the arched ceiling 30 ft., 5 arched windows 15 ft. high on each side. Each window has in breadth 4 panes of glass 11 by 15. The Altar, Sanctuary, &c., are very neatly finished. There is a small gallery over the door, with a semi-circular window. It is on the whole, a very neat and elegant little Chapel. The Cemetery is walled all round, and has a neat gate: A large cross is placed in the middle. The expense will be about 3.000 dols., out of which I am afraid our generous friends Messrs. Kavanagh and Cottrill will be obliged to pay 2.000. They have given also 3 acres of land, on part of which are the Church and the Cemetery. There will be room enough for a house, garden, and orchard for a Priest: the church is built in such manner, that an addition may be made to it whenever it becomes necessary; but the congregation here is so scattered, that they can never be here all together, and a Priest to do good must often visit them, and officiate at their own houses. How happy we should all have felt, had we been blessed with your presence! 'Oh that our good and venerable Bishop were here!' was the prayer of every heart, and repeated by every tongue. The whole assembly (and it was a numerous and respectable one) were hospitably entertained at Mr. Kavanagh's house and feasted upon their excellent mutton, &c. The vestry is not built as yet, and we want 6 candlesticks for the Altar. We shall try to get them next year. One thing is wanting to give solidity to this new establishment. A zealous Pastor who should reside here constantly. It is always with regret, I leave my respectable friend and Pastor, Dr. Matignon alone in Boston. His health is precarious, and the duties of his ministry are too much for his strength. Of course my visits here cannot be long. The Rev'd Mr. Romagné is here about six weeks before Christmas, after Christmas he comes to Boston, returns here sometime in Lent, and goes to Passamaquoddy a

little after Easter. He has got now in Passamaquoddy a house, and a neat little farm round it, and the state allows him $350 per annum. He told me last winter, he neither expected nor wished to be settled at Damariscotta. Mr. Kavanagh tells me, that even when there is another Priest here, he will be always happy to have M^r^ Romagné spend part of the winter in his family, but he wishes to have a Priest settled here, if possible. The zeal, the whole generosity of the dear Mr. Kavanagh are above all praise. It is he who encouraged us to begin our church in Boston, and who was the greatest help towards finishing it. He inspires part of his zeal, into the heart of his Partner Mr. Cottrill, who never originates any enterprise, but who shows himself willing to go hand in hand with Mr. Kavanagh in the execution. A letter from you would, I know, be received with joy and gratitude by these gentlemen. Permit me therefore to beg of you to write to them instead of answering me. Their direction is 'Messrs. Kavanagh & Cottrill, Merchants, Newcastle, Maine.' Mr. Kavanagh tells me that the new Clergyman will have board and lodging in his family, and also will have a horse at his disposal. He will besides insure him $200 per annum, part of which will be pd. by the Congregation. Clothing will be the only expense a Priest will be at in this place—washing, mending, &c., all will be done for him. You know the amiable family here. A Priest is perfectly at home, has a large and handsome chamber, and is sure to be waited upon with pleasure, and to have at his orders whatever is in the house.

"For these ten years past, I have every year spent here a considerable time, and have always experienced from Mr. and Mrs. Kavanagh the same friendly, respectful, and delicate attention.

"In the different families which the priest must visit pretty

often, if he will do good, he will, in general, have everything comfortable. Only the winter is a hard season. I have, when here, found no inconvenience from it, but it has often confined to his room Mr. Romagné, who is of a delicate constitution.

"The congregation here being mostly composed of converts, and the country being overrun with Methodists, Baptists, &c., it is to be wished the Priest would preach with facility, and I think it would be better, if the English language was his native tongue.

"R^t. Rev. Sir,

"Your most obed^t humble servant,

"JOHN CHEVERUS."

The little community of pious women gathered by Bishop Neale at Georgetown, had not yet been able to form a regular Convent of the Visitation, but he purchased the property of the French nuns and all other property on the square for them at a cost of $6,420. In the spring of 1808 Bishop Carroll advised that the ladies should make as simple vows, the vows prescribed by the rule of Visitation nuns, after passing through a novitiate, and should add the vow of entering the religious state.[1] But difficulties arose and they continued to persevere for several years, and it was not till 1813 that Bishop Neale permitted them to make simple vows to be renewed annually. When he succeeded to the see of Baltimore in 1815, Archbishop Neale applied to the Holy See for power to erect the Community into a religious house of the Order of the Visitation, with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other monasteries of the rule.[2]

[1] Bishop Carroll to Bishop Neale, January 26, 1807; March 27, 1808.

[2] Bishop Neale to Bishop Carroll, March 17, 1805; Shea, "Our Convents," Metropolitan, Baltimore, 1855, iii., p. 653.

The Archbishop received on the feast of the Holy Innocents, 1816,

In 1808 Georgetown College began to revive. A donation of $500 enabled the Fathers to complete the building, and the students numbered about forty, while the novitiate and scholasticate gave promise of supplying zealous and competent teachers.[1]

On the death of Father Molyneux, the Rev. William Matthews was appointed President of Georgetown College, and entered the novitiate to become a member of the Society of Jesus.

Saturday, June 11, 1808, was a remarkable day in the annals of the diocese of Baltimore, as on it Bishop Carroll ordained two priests — Rev. Messrs. O'Brien and Roloff at Baltimore, and Bishops Neale four at Georgetown—Revs. Enoch and Benedict Fenwick, James Spink and Leonard Edelen.[2]

When the long-desired division of his diocese seemed to be at last on the point of being actually decreed at Rome, Bishop Carroll found no little difficulty in recommending priests suitable for the new sees. He would gladly have seen the mitre of Boston rest on the head of the Rev. Mr. Matignon, but that worthy priest remonstrated against any design of nominating him for the episcopate. "The good accomplished here," he wrote, "is almost exclusively the work of Mr. Cheverus; he it is who fills the pulpit, who is most frequently in the confessional," etc. He even threatened to leave the diocese if Bishop Carroll persisted in nomi-

the solemn profession of the religious vows made by Miss Lalor, Mrs. McDermott, and Miss Harriet Brent, the first as Mother of the Community, the second as Assistant, and the third as Mistress of Novices. The rest of the Community, which then numbered thirty-three, took their vows on the feast of St. Francis de Sales, January 29, 1817. Archbishop Neale to Mother Dickinson, December 21, 1816.

[1] Rev. A. Kohlmann to Rev. Mr. Strickland, November 7, 1808.

[2] Bishop Carroll to Bishop Neale, June 15, 1808.

nating him. Yielding at last, Dr. Carroll sent to Rome the name of the Rev. John Cheverus, describing him as "in the prime of life, with health to undergo any necessary exertion, universally esteemed for his unwearied zeal, and his remarkable facility and eloquence in announcing the word of God, virtuous, and with a charm of manner that recalled Catholics to their duties and disarmed Protestants of their prejudices." [1]

The see of Bardstown seemed due to Rev. Mr. Badin, who had done so much of the pioneer work in Kentucky, but his extreme severity had made him unpopular, and Bishop Carroll recommended, in the first place, Rev. Benedict J. Flaget, of tender piety, gentle disposition, and well versed in theology. But he, too, was unwilling to assume the burthen of the episcopate. "I thought proper to write to you," he said, "to preclude all hope of my ever accepting such a dignity, and induce you to appoint, as soon as possible, another candidate to fill up the place I shall certainly leave vacant. After so positive a declaration, I beg of you, with tears in my eyes, to let me forever enjoy unmolested the humble post I occupy, which suits me a thousand times better than the conspicuous one I have obtained through your goodness." [2]

For the see of Philadelphia Bishop Carroll recommended the Rev. Patrick Michael Egan, a priest of the Order of St. Francis, modest, humble, and zealously observing the spirit of his holy rule in his whole life.

New York he advised the Holy Father to place under the care of the Bishop of Boston till a suitable choice could be made for that see.[3]

[1] Rev. F. A. Matignon to Bishop Carroll, April 6, 1807.

[2] Rev. B. J. Flaget to Bishop Carroll, October 24, 1808.

[3] Evidently unaware that Dr. Carroll proposed to have only three bish-

The country northwest of the Ohio he thought might be confided temporarily to the Bishop of Bardstown, and that south of Tennessee to Louisiana. For that vacant diocese, so weakened by scandals and rent by schisms, he could not yet suggest any candidate.[1]

The nominations made by Bishop Carroll were all ratified by the Sovereign Pontiff. For the see of New York Pius VII., apparently on the recommendation of Archbishop Troy of Dublin, who had gradually acquired a great influence at Rome in the affairs of the Church in this country, appointed the Dominican Father Richard Luke Concanen, who had resided many years at Rome as the agent of the Irish bishops, and who had been a correspondent of Bishop Carroll. This religious, however, who had already refused the sees of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, urged the appointment of a Brother Dominican, Rev. John Connolly.

ops appointed, Bishop Flaget subsequently blamed him for having had four.

[1] Bishop Carroll to Cardinal Pietro, June 17, 1807.



GEORGETOWN COLLEGE, FROM THE POTOMAC.



PORTRAIT OF ARCHBISHOP CARROLL. FROM THE PAINTING BY STUART.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE.—ERECTION OF THE SEES OF BOSTON, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, AND BARDSTOWN.—MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL, ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.—HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF BALTIMORE, 1808–1815.

On the 8th of April, 1808, Pope Pius VII., by his Bulls "Pontificii Muneris" and "Ex debito Pastoralis Officii," divided the diocese of Baltimore, and erected the sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown.

The Bulls recited that the Sovereign Pontiff had heard with great joy that the Catholic religion was increasing daily in the United States in vitality and growth; that the number of the faithful who bowed their necks to its sweet yoke was by God's blessing greater and more copious. As therefore the one bishop who is established in the see of Baltimore cannot properly direct a flock increasing at points so far removed from each other, his Holiness, knowing that the young lambs of Christ's flock had greater need of pastoral care and protection, hastened to give an increase of new pastors, to obviate the difficulty of distance, and multiply spiritual succor. After deliberating on the matter with his venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, he proceeds: "By the advice of the said Brethren, We by the apostolical authority, by the tenor of these presents, erect and constitute four new episcopal sees in the said States, for four respective bishops, now and hereafter whenever a vacancy occurs in any of said sees, to be elected and

constituted by us and the apostolic see, namely, 1st, New York, which is to have as a diocese the whole State of that name, and the eastern part of the State of New Jersey, contiguous thereto; 2d, Philadelphia, the diocese whereof includes the entire two States of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and the western and southern part of the said State of New Jersey; 3d, Boston, with a diocese in which we include these States, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont; 4th, Bardstown, that is, in the town or city of Bardstown, and thereto we assign as a diocese the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, and until otherwise provided by this Apostolic See, the territories lying northwest of the Ohio, and extending to the great lakes and which lie between them and the diocese of Canada, and extending along them to the boundary of Pennsylvania. Finally, We give and assign the beforementioned churches and each one of them as provincials and suffragans of the Church of Baltimore, which we have this day, by the counsel and authority aforesaid, erected into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan church."[1]

This Brief with the Bulls appointing Father Richard Luke Concanen to the see of New York; Father Michael Egan to the see of Philadelphia; Rev. John Cheverus to the see of Boston, and Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget to the see of Bardstown, as well as the Brief erecting Baltimore into an Archiepiscopal See, and the Pallium for Archbishop Carroll, were confided to the Bishop-elect of New York.

That learned Dominican was just recovering from a long and dangerous illness, and was still confined to his bed, when

[1] Briefs "Pontificii Muneris" and "Ex debito Pastoralis Officii," April 8, 1808. "Bullarium Romanum," xiii., pp. 280, 282. They are incorrectly printed, and I have followed a contemporaneous manuscript copy.

Cardinal di Pietro came to his bedside to tell him, in the name of the Pope, that he must accept the great charge, and that such was the will of God. He accordingly acquiesced, and was consecrated with great pomp in the Church of the Nuns of St. Catharine at Rome, on the 24th of April, 1808, by Cardinal di Pietro, with two archbishops as assistants. He seems to have obtained considerable donations in money, vestments, plate, etc., for his diocese, filling cases, which greatly impeded his travelling at a time when every moment was precious. Although scarcely recovered from his illness, he left Rome on the 3d of June for Leghorn, where he hoped to find a vessel for some port in the United States, but the American vessels were sequestered by the French then in possession of the place, because they were visited by the English cruisers. After remaining in vain for months at Leghorn and Locanda, and expending large sums of money, Bishop Concanen left his cases, with the pallium, bulls, and other official papers, in charge of Messrs. Filicchi, with directions to forward them to Archbishop Carroll when a safe opportunity presented itself. He himself returned to Rome, where the Holy Father assigned him a pension, his promotion to the episcopate having left him with no claim on the houses of his order. He remained at Tivoli and in Rome till the spring of 1810, discharging a great deal of business for the Irish prelates, and performing episcopal acts in Rome, then greatly in need of the services of Bishops, as the Pope, with many Cardinals and Bishops, had been carried off. In April Dr. Concanen wrote that he was about to start for his diocese.[1]

[1] Bishop Concanen to Archbishop Troy, March 25, May 21, 1808. Same to Archbishop Carroll, July 23, 1808; to Archbishop Troy, October 8, November 19, 1808, March 22, May 20, 1809, January 8, 1810; to Archbishop Carroll, August 9, 1809; to Bishop Milner, August 25, 1808.

He was greatly depressed by the long delay, and even proposed to resign the see of New York. "After the series of trials and disappointments that I experienced ever since my unfortunate appointment to the see of New York," to quote his words to Archbishop Carroll, "the greatest [illegible]





R^t REV. RICHARD LUKE CONCANEN.

FIRST BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

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Bishop Concanen reached Naples, where he succeeded in securing passage on the "Frances," Captain Haskell, for Salem, Massachusetts, the only vessel permitted to clear for the United States. The captain consented to take him only at the urgent request of Mr. Filicchi, of Leghorn, and the American consuls, Hammet and Appleton; but he was not to have any companion or attendant. Some excellent young priests, who had offered their services for his diocese, were thus compelled to remain. The vessel was to sail on Sunday, June 17th.[1]

A passport was required, and as he had one from General Miollis, governor of Rome, no difficulty was anticipated; but when Mr. Hammet, the American Consul at Naples, applied in person to the Board of Police, those officials not only pretended that his papers were unsatisfactory, but dispatched an officer to the Bishop's lodgings with a formal intimation to him not to embark at his peril without a proper license from government.

This unexpected step threw the venerable bishop into a great agitation, and as soon as he could recover self-control,



SIGNATURE OF BISHOP CONCANEN.

he turned to the Rev. Mr. Lombardi, a priest who was in the room at the time, and said: "Well now I may bid a farewell to America forever. I pray you, my dear Abbé Lombardi, to see that whatever regards my funeral and burial be done in a decent manner, so as not to disgrace my rank and character." The clergyman thought this merely a result of his

[1] Bishop Concanen to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Naples, June 15, 1810.

depression at the sudden overthrow of his plans, but it was a clear foresight of his approaching end. He was at once taken down with a fever, and on Monday made his confession to Rev. Mr. Lombardi, stating that it would be his last, and it was with such deep compunction as moved the clergyman deeply. The Bishop asked to be left alone, and Rev. Mr. Lombardi withdrew, apprehending no danger, but on his return the next morning he found Dr. Concanen speechless. As he was still conscious, he imparted the final absolution, and the Bishop expired without the least struggle. "On Wednesday, the 20th, in the Church of San Domenico Maggiore, were performed over his remains with due solemnity the funeral rites as he desired; and in the same church, in the vault of his confrères, he was afterwards interred."[1]

Such was the sad close of the life of the first bishop of New York, whose days from his consecration were filled with trials and disappointments.

His effects in Naples were seized by the authorities and rifled.

In 1809 the revived Society of Jesus sustained a severe loss in the death of the Very Rev. Robert Molyneux, who expired on the 9th of December, at the age of seventy, prepared for the awful moment "by a life of candor, virtue, and innocence, and by all those helps which are mercifully ordained for the comfort and advantage of departing Christians."

[1] Rev. Peter Plunkett to Archbishop Carroll, September 3, 1810; Rev. A. Kohlmann's notice in "N. Y. Spectator," October 6, 1810. By his will, which he had forwarded to Rome, Bishop Concanen left all his property to the Rev. Edward D. Fenwick for the Dominican mission in Kentucky, excepting a few legacies to relatives in Ireland, and his chalice, pontifical, etc., which he bequeathed to the Cathedral in New York. Ib. I have made earnest effort to find the spot where the Bishop's remains now are, but there seems no clue.

To Archbishop Carroll it was a severe blow. "He was my oldest friend," he wrote, "after my relation and companion to St. Omer in my childhood, Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, remaining amongst us, as he often and feelingly reminded me the last time I saw him in the month of September, with very slender hopes of meeting more in this world."

Previous to his death Father Molyneux had appointed Father Charles Neale to be Superior of the Society of Jesus in the United States.[1]

Bishop Carroll, uneasy at the position of that body, had addressed the Sovereign Pontiff to obtain a clear canonical status for them by a special bull derogating from the brief of Clement XIV.[2] Father Concanen had manifested a great interest in their restoration, and the reply of Pope Pius VII., with documents relating to the Society of Jesus in America, were confided to him when, as Bishop of New York, he attempted to set out for his see. But on his death at Naples these documents disappeared, and never reached Archbishop Carroll.

During the long delay of two years, in which Dr. Carroll was in constant expectation of the arrival of Bishop Concanen, with the bulls dividing the diocese of Baltimore and erecting new sees, the bull raising Baltimore to an archiepiscopal see and the pallium, he had been in a most anomalous position. He knew that his diocese had been divided and that the Bishop of New York had been consecrated. Bishop Concanen had, at an early day, dispatched a letter empowering him to appoint a Vicar-General in the name of both, to

[1] Bishop Carroll to F. Charles Plowden, February 21, 1809; Foley, "Records of the English Province," vii., p. 514.

[2] Bishop Carroll to F. Charles Plowden, January 10, 1808; to Very Rev. Charles Neale, November 8, 1811.

administer the diocese of New York. To this position Archbishop Carroll appointed the great theologian and missionary, Father Anthony Kohlmann, but though the venerable Archbishop probably was never conscious of the fact, Bishop Concanen took umbrage at his course in sending Jesuits to



SIGNATURE OF FATHER ANTHONY KOHLMANN.

New York and at their establishment of a college. The organization of the diocese of New York was, however, the work of Father Kohlmann as Vicar-General and Administrator.

Over the other new dioceses, having no official notice of their erection, Bishop Carroll continued his jurisdiction.[1] Dr. Concanen, however, finding the time of his departure uncertain, forwarded to Rev. Mr. Emery authentic copies of all the bulls for Archbishop Carroll and his suffragans.[2] Monsignor Quarantotti also, after the death of the Bishop of New York, forwarded another copy of the Briefs from Rome, intrusting them, as well as the pallium for the Archbishop, to Rev. Maurice Virola, a Franciscan Father, then setting out for the United States.[3]

[1] Bishop Concanen to Archbishop Troy, January 8, 1810. Rev. Mr. Maréchal had advised him to take over some Franciscan Fathers from St. Isidore's to open an academy in New York.

[2] Bishop Concanen to Rev. A. Maréchal, Naples, June 15, 1810.

[3] Mgr. Quarantotti to Archbishop Carroll, June 20, 1810. The set of briefs forwarded through Rev. Mr. Emery were those on which Archbishop Carroll acted; they were brought over by Dr. Flaget, who arrived in this country in August. Archbishop Carroll to Bishop of Quebec, September 15, 1810.

The arrival of one of these sets enabled the Archbishop-elect to proceed to the consecration of the clergymen designated for the sees of Boston, Philadelphia, and Bardstown.

In a little pamphlet issued at the time, these solemn ceremonies were thus announced:

"The Catholic Church of the United States, which for two centuries in the midst of the greatest obstructions, never ceased to be upheld by the fervent zeal of its holy missionaries, received after the Revolution such rapid increase that the Holy See in 1789 thought it advisable, instead of Apostolical Vicars, to appoint a permanent Episcopal See in Baltimore for the whole United States. Since which period the number of Catholic Congregations daily springing up in every direction has at last induced Pius VII., the present venerable Pontiff, who in the midst of tribulations most bitter to nature, but equally glorious in his divine Master, so worthily fills the pontifical chair, to erect Baltimore into a Metropolis or Archbishoprick, and to establish four new suffragan Dioceses, namely, N. York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown in Kentucky. The first pastors appointed for the new Sees are for N. York, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Luke Concannen, who unfortunately died at Naples in July last, on the point of embarking for the United States. For Philadelphia, the Rt. Rev. John Egan. For Boston, the Rt. Rev. John Cheverus. For Bardstown, Rt. Rev. Ben. Jph. Flaget, characters already long revered among the Catholics of the United States, and whose promotion is to be considered less as a reward of their apostolic virtues, than as a common blessing upon the flocks committed to their care.

"The consecrations will take place as follows: Dr. Egan's at St. Peter's, Baltimore, on Sunday, 28th of October. Dr. Cheverus' at ditto on All Saints' day. Dr. Flaget's at St.

Patrick's, Fell's Point, on the 4th of November. Consecrator, the Most Rev. Dr. John Carroll." [1]

The Instructions, after exposing the apostolic succession and the dignity of the episcopate, proceeds: "May these prayers dictated by zeal and universal charity be the constant proof of our gratitude to the Lord for the innumerable blessings, vouchsafed to this country, since the consecration of our first Bishop. To multiply the means of salvation and increase vigilance over the sacred interests of religion, Bishops ever present and near to them, are now to be given to separate portions of this once so extensive Diocese. Boston, Philadelphia, N. York, and the vast countries of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi! The Lord has spoken to Peter, Peter by his successors to Pius VII., and the apostolical succession begins after so many ages to display itself to you, that it may be continued through your chief pastors, even to the remotest posterity. May the consecration of the heads of these new holy generations add warmth to our piety; and whether we be witnesses to those awful ceremonies, or be obliged to content ourselves with drawing from a description of them fresh motives for edification, let us unite in the fervent prayers which the Church is going to offer for the success of their ministry." [2]

To give greater solemnity and impressiveness to the rite, the Archbishop-elect had determined to consecrate each of the three suffragans on a different day. The Right Rev. Dr. Egan was consecrated Bishop of Philadelphia at St. Peter's,

[1] "Instructions on the Erection of four new Catholic Episcopal Sees in the United States and the Consecration of their first Bishops," etc., Baltimore, 1810, pp. iii.–5. There is also in the pamphlet a French text, evidently the original, and somewhat more extended than the English. Thus it reads: "Le R. P. Luc Concannon, Dominicain dont la personne etoit particulièrement chère au St. Père."

[2] Ib., pp. 28–4.

the pro-cathedral, on Sunday, October 28, 1810, the Archbishop-elect having as assistants the Bishops-elect of Boston and Bardstown; the Right Rev. Dr. Cheverus was consecrated in the same church on the feast of All Saints by Archbishop Carroll, with Bishops Neale and Egan as assistants, the Dominican Father W. V. Harold preaching the sermon;[1] and the Rev. Dr. Flaget was consecrated Bishop of Bardstown in St. Patrick's Church, Fell's Point, on the 4th of November, by the Archbishop of Baltimore, assisted by the Bishops of Philadelphia and Boston, Dr. Cheverus preaching on the occasion.[2]

The sacred orators paid a tribute of homage to the venerable head of the American hierarchy. "You have not to resort to antiquity," said the eloquent Dominican, "for an example of Episcopal virtue. That bounteous God, whose manifold blessings overspread this land, whose boundless mercies claim our warmest gratitude, still preserves for your advantage, a living encouragement to such virtue and a fair model for your imitation. You will seek both in your venerable and most reverend Prelate—you will find both in the Father of the American Church, and under God the author of its prosperity. In him you will find that meekness which is the best fruit of the Holy Ghost, that humility which for Christ's sake makes him the servant of all, that richly polished character which none but great minds can receive, which nothing but virtue can impart."[3]

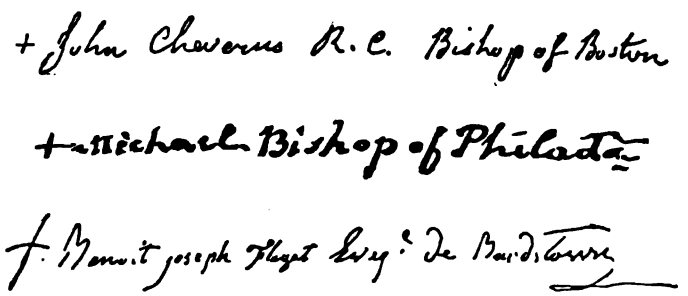
[1] Certificate of the consecration, November 1, 1810, preserved at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; Harold, "Sermon preached in the Catholic Church of St. Peter, Baltimore, November 1, 1810, on occasion of the consecration of the Rt. Rev. Dr. John Cheverus, Bishop of Boston," Baltimore, 1810.

[2] Desgeorge, "Monseigneur Flaget," Paris, 1855, p. 86.

[3] Harold, "Sermon preached in the Catholic Church of St. Peter," pp. 19–20.

Bishop Cheverus, in the discourse which he pronounced, saluted Archbishop Carroll as the Elias of the new law, the father of the clergy, the conductor of the chariot of Israel in the New World—"Pater mi, Pater mi, currus Israel et auriga ejus."[1]

On the 17th of December Archbishop Carroll, in the name of his coadjutor and the Bishops of Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown, wrote to the Sovereign Pontiff, transmitting an account of the consecrations and of his assumption of the title of Archbishop, no pallium having yet reached him, and its arrival being uncertain.



SIGNATURES OF BISHOP CHEVERUS OF BOSTON, BISHOP EGAN OF PHILADELPHIA, AND BISHOP FLAGET OF BARDSTOWN.

Meanwhile his coadjutor and suffragans had remained for two weeks with Dr. Carroll to advise on many points of regulation and discipline, "that we may form an uniform practise in the government of our churches; and likewise to take into consideration the present state of the Catholic Church, its visible head, our Venerable Pontiff, and the consequences of his being withdrawn from his captivity, either by violence,

[1] [Hamon] "Vie du Cardinal de Cheverus," Paris, 1858, pp. 103–4; Walsh's translation, Philadelphia, 1839, p. 85; Stewart's, Boston, 1839, p. 95.

or the ruin of his constitution by interior and exterior sufferings."

Several articles of ecclesiastical discipline were adopted which with the Synod of 1791 remained in force for the next twenty years as the statutes of the Church in the United States. They related to the faculties of regular and secular clergy, to exeats, parochial registers, the sacraments of baptism and matrimony, retribution for masses, and the adoption of the Douay Bible, of course as revised by Bishop Challoner, of which two editions had already appeared. The faithful were to be warned against the dangers of theatres, public balls, and novel-reading. The last regulation provided that Freemasons should be excluded from the sacraments till they renounced all connection with the association, and promised no more to attend the meetings. The result of their deliberations was imparted to their respective flocks in the following

"PASTORAL OF THE BISHOPS IN 1810.

"The most Reverend Archbishop, and Right Rev. Bishops lately assembled at Baltimore took into their serious consideration the State of the Churches under their care; but not being then able to extend their enquiries and collect full information concerning many points, which require uniform regulation, and perhaps amendment, they reserved to a future occasion a general review of the ecclesiastical discipline now observed throughout the different dioceses, and the reducing of it every where to as strict conformity with that of the universal Church, as our peculiar situation, circumstances, and general benefit of the Faithful will allow. Some matters, requiring immediate attention, were maturely discussed, on which after humbly invoking the assistance of the Divine Spirit, resolutions or ordinances were made which in due time will be communicated to the Clergy or laity, as they

may be concerned in them. The following are some of them, and are now published for general information.

"First. Pastors of the different Churches, or they who in their absence are intrusted with the care of the churches, chalices, and sacred vestments are not to permit any strange and unknown Priests to exercise priestly functions, before they have exhibited authentic proofs of their having obtained the Bishop's permission.

"2. Conformably to the Spirit of the Church, and its general practice, the Sacrament of Baptism shall be administered in the Church only in all towns, in which churches are erected, excepting only cases of necessity.

"3. Some difficulties having occurred in making immediately a general rule for the celebration of all marriages in the Church, as a practice most conformable to general and Catholic discipline; it was thought premature now to publish an ordinance to that effect; yet all pastors are directed to recommend this religious usage universally, wherever it is not attended with very great inconvenience, and prepare the mind of their flocks for its adoption, in a short time.

"4. The Pastors of the Faithful are earnestly directed to discourage more and more from the pulpit, and in their public and private conferences an attachment to entertainments and diversions of dangerous tendency to morality; such as to frequent the theatres, and cherish a fondness for dancing assemblies. They must likewise often warn their congregations against the reading of books dangerous to faith and manners, and especially a promiscuous reading of all kinds of novels. The faithful themselves should always remember the severity with which the Church, guided by the Holy Ghost, constantly prohibited writings calculated to diminish the respect due to our holy religion.

"5th. The Archbishop and Bishops enjoined on all Priests

exercising, in their respective Dioceses, faculties for the administration of the Sacraments, not to admit to those of penance and the B^d^ Eucharist such persons, as are known to belong to the association, commonly called of Freemasons unless these persons seriously promise to abstain for ever after from going to their lodges, and professing themselves to belong to their society: and Pastors of Congregations shall frequently recommend to all under their care never to join with or become members of the said fraternity.

"✠ J., Abp. of B^re^

"✠ LEONARD, B^p^ of Gortyna, Coadjutor of B^re^,

"✠ MICHAEL, B^p^ of Philad^a^,

"✠ JOHN, Bis^p^ of Boston,

"✠ BENEDICT JOSEPH, B^p^ of Bardstown.

"BALT^RE^, Nov^r^ 15, 1810."

The Archbishop and Bishops also on the 11th of November replied to a letter of the Irish hierarchy in regard to the position of the Head of the Church. They professed their submission to his admonitions even in captivity, and their resolve to obey every order emanating from him, so long as they were certified that he acted in full liberty. And in case the Holy Father should die in captivity, they would instruct their flocks "to acknowledge no person as the true and genuine successor of Peter, but him whom the far greater part of the bishops of the whole world and the whole Catholic people, in a manner, shall acknowledge as such."

The newly formed hierarchy of the United States felt called upon to reply. As Archbishop Carroll wrote to a friend: "To answer it was incumbent on us; but on account of the infancy of our hierarchy, we felt a diffidence.

Yet we did answer, and I hear that our answer was published in England and Ireland, which was not foreseen here. We were more reserved, as you may have observed, than our Irish brethren, not daring to anticipate the specific course to be pursued hereafter in the future contingency to the church, humbly trusting to the guidance of the Holy Ghost, if those contingencies should ensue, to the examples given us by the more ancient churches, and fortifying us by the promises of Christ that the powers of hell shall not prevail against that Church which he acquired with his blood."[1]

Archbishop Carroll and his suffragans resolved to attempt to hold direct intercourse with the Sovereign Pontiff. The care taken to effect this proved unavailing, and in view of his confinement for years, disorders of great magnitude were apprehended.

At last, however, a memorial in the name of the Archbishop and his suffragans with a letter from Dr. Carroll, with much industry was conveyed to the hands of Pope Pius VII. The object was to obtain his direction as to several matters in the government of their dioceses; to ascertain some practicable means of filling up vacancies that might occur, and to provide for the vacancies of New York and Louisiana; but a stricter and closer confinement of the venerable Head of the Church prevented his sending any reply.[2]

Before the consecration of the new Bishops, Archbishop Carroll had prudently addressed the trustees of the principal churches in the recently erected dioceses, explaining the regulation of the Holy See, requiring that an income for the Bishop in each of the newly erected sees should be permanently pledged by the churches in the Episcopal city.

[1] Archbishop Carroll to Father C. Plowden, January 27, 1812.

[2] Archbishop Carroll to Bishop of Quebec, March 2, 1814.

As many difficulties subsequently arose in Philadelphia, notwithstanding these prudent precautions, it will be well to give at length the correspondence between Archbishop Carroll and the Philadelphia churches on this occasion.

The trustees of St. Mary's church, and Holy Trinity, as well as the Augustinian Fathers, agreed to contribute to the expenses of Bishop Egan's consecration, and also for his future maintenance and that of his successors in office.

The correspondence was as follows:

"MESSRS. THE TRUSTEES OF THE SEVERAL CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN PHILADELPHIA:

"Immediately after receiving notice of the propitious event of a Bishop's See being erected at Philadelphia, and the appointment, by the Holy See, of the Right Rev^{d} D^{r} Egan to fill the Episcopal Chair, I desired it to be made known to you that it was now indispensibly necessary to make provision, as well for the first expenses, of the consecration and installation of the new Prelate, as for his permanent support. After more reflection, it appeared expedient and necessary to address directly to you, gentlemen, a more particular recommendation on this subject. The established usage of the Holy See, when new Bishoprics are instituted, is to require solid assurances, that the Bishops appointed for the purposes of preserving the integrity of faith, the purity of morals, and perpetuity of the ministry, as well as their successors, shall be above all inducements, arising out of the narrowness of their circumstances, to relax in their attention to those most essential duties of their charge, and consequently that their income, whatever it may be, shall be independent of the fluctuations of favor or public opinion; they must be free from the apprehension of being deprived of

their means of support, if they pursue the measures dictated by their consciences for the maintenance of sound discipline and discouragement of vice. As far, then, as your influence, on which, as well as on your zeal, much trust may be placed, can effect it, the settlement of your Bishop's income will be placed on a footing suitable and honorable to his station, and not controllable by the interference of those over whose highest interest Divine Providence has appointed him to preside.

"This is perhaps the last act of that pastoral care which it has been long my duty to exercise in behalf of my dear children in your State, my conscience reproaches me often, and ever will reproach me, for many omissions and errors in the execution of that awful ministry. Allow me to pray you and all the congregations, through the charity of our Lord Jesus Christ, to sue to the Father of mercies for the grace of my forgiveness; and that the remaining days of my life may be employed in repairing the evils, which can yet be remedied. Assure yourselves, that though my former connections with you are soon to be dissolved, still my heart is and always will be united with you; and that I shall not cease to implore for you the protection of Providence, and the diffusion of our Holy Religion throughout the Diocese, of which Philadelphia forms so distinguished a part.

"I have the honor to be, with respect,
and the solicitude of an affectionate Pastor,
Messieurs,
"Your most devoted and obedient servant,
and Father in Christ,
"✠ JOHN,
"Bishop of Baltimore.

"BALTIMORE, October 20th, 1808."

"At a meeting of the Trustees of Holy Trinity Church, S$^{t.}$ Mary's, and the Rev^{d} M$^{r.}$ Hurley from S$^{t.}$ Augustine's, at the house of the Rev^{d} M$^{r.}$ Britt, for the purpose of considering the necessary allowance to be made to the Right Rev^{d} D$^{r.}$ Egan, as Bishop of Philadelphia,

"Resolved, In the opinion of the gentlemen present, that eight hundred dollars, per annum, should be allowed to him, from the different congregations of this city, as Bishop.

"Resolved, That the same be paid in the following proportions, viz.:

S$^{t.}$ Mary's, . . .	$400 per annum.
Holy Trinity, . .	$200 per annum.
S$^{t.}$ Augustine, . . .	$200 per annum.

"The same to commence the 1st day of January next, payable quarterly, and in advance, the expenses incidental to his consecration and installation, to be paid in the like manner.

"Adam Britt, Pastor of Holy Trinity.
"Michael Hurley,
"James Oellers,
"John Ashley,
"Charles Johnson,
"Adam Premir,
"Joseph Snyder.

"Philadelphia, 1st November, 1808."[1]

By the division of the original diocese of Baltimore and the erection of new sees, the portion of the country which remained subject to the jurisdiction of Archbishop Carroll comprised Maryland, Virginia, the District of Columbia, the Carolinas, Georgia with its western territory now embraced

[1] Copied from a printed sheet.

in the States of Alabama and Mississippi. He had requested that the portion lying on the Mississippi River should be placed under the supervision of the Bishop to be stationed at New Orleans, who could easily communicate with it. Bishop Concanen wrote to him from Rome that it was the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff to detach part of the actual diocese of Baltimore, but the project was not then carried out, and the States just named remained under the supervision of Archbishop Carroll to his death.

Before the consecration of his suffragans and their installation in their several sees, there were, so far as we can estimate, about seventy priests and eighty churches in the United States.[1]

Besides the diocese of Baltimore as reduced by the recent division, Archbishop Carroll was still burthened with the administration of the extensive diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas. In the portion still subject to Spain, the Bishop of Havana had resumed the authority exercised by him previous to 1793, and in the rest Archbishop Carroll found the Vicar-General appointed by him able to effect little good, his authority being openly defied by Father Anthony Sedella and men of his stamp. He wrote to the Sovereign Pontiff in December, 1810, that the Rev. Mr. Nerinckx absolutely declined to undertake the difficult duty of restoring order in that unhappy diocese as Administrator-Apostolic, and that Rev. Mr. Olivier was from age and infirmity not able to undertake it.[2] He had cast his eye on one whom he deemed fitted. This was the Rev. William Du Bourg, a brilliant, able, and energetic man, who as President of Georgetown College, and founder and President of St. Mary's College,

[1] Rev. Dr. White, "Life of E. A. Seton," p. 491 and notes.

[2] Archbishop Carroll to Pius VII., December 17, 1810.

Baltimore, had shown ability, judgment, theological ability, and skill in temporal affairs. His presence was needed indeed at Baltimore, where the college was struggling with a heavy debt, and this alone seems to have delayed the action of Archbishop Carroll, who in 1810 sent the Rev. Mr. Sibourd to Louisiana. That clergyman reached New Orleans from France on the 29th of December, 1810, with two Ursuline nuns for the convent there, the Community needing help, as their academy was prospering with sixty-three boarders and many day-scholars, and their asylum contained thirty orphans.[1] Rev. Mr. Sibourd endeavored to collect the English-speaking Catholics at the Ursuline chapel, but at first he found few who cared to profit by his ministry or approach the sacraments, only one coming to perform his Easter duty. His sermons at the chapel on Sundays, and his care in preparing candidates for first communion, which twelve received on Low Sunday, produced a good effect. Father Sedella and his unworthy assistants were also compelled to preach, and to make some show of discharging the duties of the ministry.[2]

By the erection of the Sees of Boston, New York, and Bardstown, Archbishop Carroll's diocese ceased to border on that of Quebec. He accordingly wrote in March, 1811, to Bishop Plessis in regard to the matter, asking him to continue in the new dioceses the charitable services on the frontiers which he and his predecessors, Bishops Hubert and Denaut, had performed, by allowing their priests to attend Catholics in the United States near the boundary, and by themselves administering the sacrament of confirmation. Bishop Plessis accordingly made Bishops Cheverus and

[1] Rev. L. Sibourd to Archbishop Carroll, March 22, 1811.

[2] Same to same, June 12, 1811.

Flaget, and Father Anthony Kohlmann his Vicars-General, and they in turn made Bishop Plessis Vicar-General in the dioceses of Boston, New York, and Bardstown.[1]

Bishops Cheverus, Egan, and Flaget, and Father Kohlmann in organizing the dioceses under their care, constantly appealed to the Archbishop for direction and advice, and New York depended on Bishop Cheverus for all episcopal acts, although the diocese was not actually under his care as Dr. Carroll had solicited the Holy See to place it.

In his own diocese of Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll was consoled by seeing the peaceful progress of religion. Emmittsburg became a centre of Catholic life and activity. It had been a mission attended from Frederick from an early period, a chapel in the house of the Elder family having been the constant place of worship. The Rev. John Du Bois, after attending it for several years, resolved to build a church for the faithful whose numbers had increased. Near by was a log-house which he purchased with a piece of land. It was an humble beginning, but destined to become the cradle of two great institutions, one training young men in the faith and fitting them for the world, while it sent zealous priests to all parts of the country; the other the Mother House of the Sisters of Charity, who at this mountain home became accomplished teachers of rich and poor, mothers to the orphan, comforters of the sick and afflicted.

The modest mountain church was visited in the autumn of 1808 by Bishop Carroll, who administered confirmation on

[1] A priest at Detroit, Niagara, or the Passamaquoddy could thus under powers given him validly exercise the ministry when necessary on British soil. In the case of New York it is curious to find a Jesuit Father (Kohlmann) appointing a Bishop his Vicar-General. Archbishop Carroll to Bishop Plessis, March 12, 1811. Archives of Archbishop of Quebec.

the 20th of October, and who, we may feel assured, encouraged the hopes of the zealous priest.

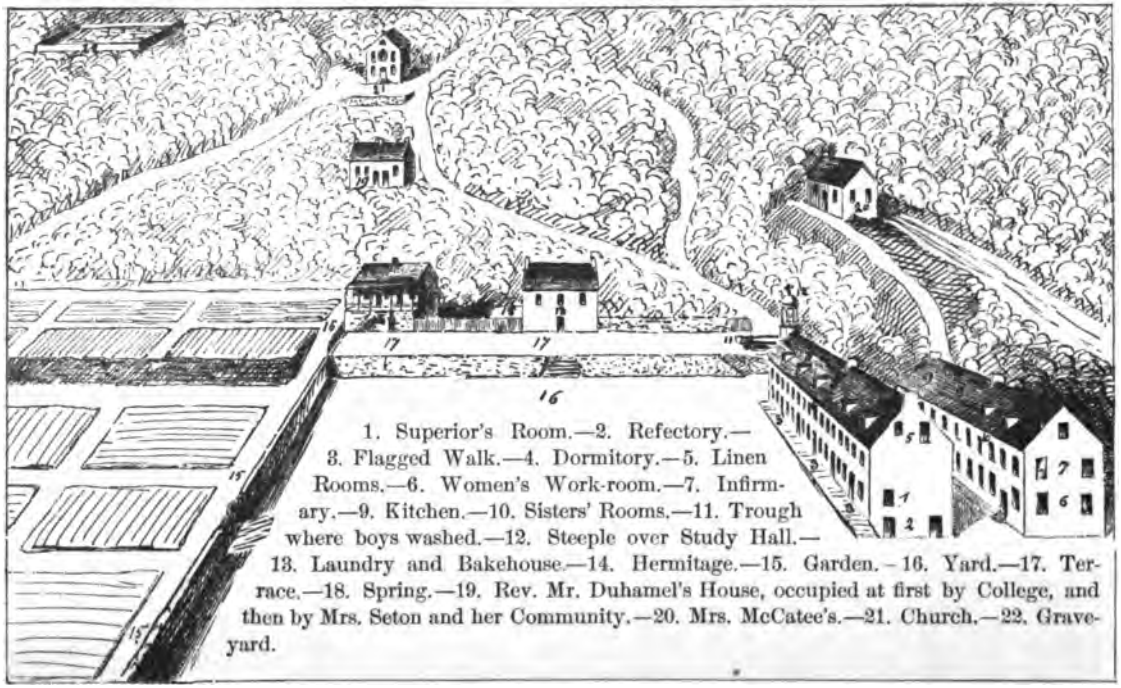
When Rev. Mr. Du Bois, who had long wished to establish a school near his church, proposed to Rev. Mr. Nagot to remove the establishment then at Pigeon Hills, Pa., Rev. Mr. Du Bourg, with some other Sulpitians, visited the mountain, and a tract of five hundred acres was acquired from a lady, payment being made by an annuity. About Easter, 1809, sixteen young men arrived from Pigeon Hills. A brick house intended at one time for a church became the "Petit Seminaire,"[1] Rev. Mr. Du Bois with the teachers and some pupils residing in the log-house. Work was at once commenced on two rows of log buildings, which were to be the future college. Rev. Mr. Du Bois at first proposed placing them on the brow of the hill in front of the church, but by the advice of Rev. Mr. Du Bourg adopted a more sheltered site at the base of the hill near a beautiful spring.

Such was the commencement of Mount Saint Mary's College, which seemed to enter at once on a career of prosperity, though the founder was utterly destitute of means. Rev. Mr. Duhamel soon joined him from Hagerstown and relieved him of the parochial work. In 1810 the college had forty pupils, and three years after double that number, exclusively Catholic.

When his log buildings were ready, the Rev. Mr. Du Bois gave his log-house temporarily to Mrs. Seton and her Sisters, so that it was also the cradle of her community. On Sundays and holidays the pupils of both establishments proceeded to the church, a distance of some two miles from the college, the Sisters of Charity conducting the choir.[2]

[1] This building was on a piece of land conveyed to Bishop Carroll October 24, 1793, by Mr. Alexius Elder. Note of Archbishop Maréchal.

[2] "U. S. Catholic Magazine," v., p. 36.

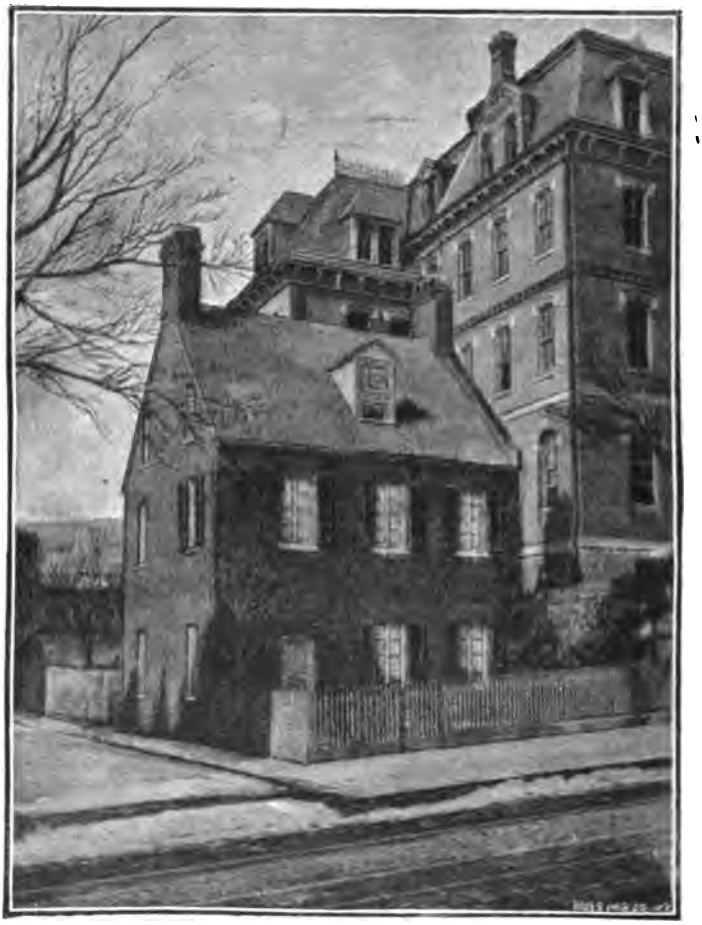


1. Superior's Room.—2. Refectory.—3. Flagged Walk.—4. Dormitory.—5. Linen Rooms.—6. Women's Work-room.—7. Infirmary.—9. Kitchen.—10. Sisters' Rooms.—11. Trough where boys washed.—12. Steeple over Study Hall.—13. Laundry and Bakehouse.—14. Hermitage.—15. Garden.—16. Yard.—17. Terrace.—18. Spring.—19. Rev. Mr. Duhamel's House, occupied at first by College, and then by Mrs. Seton and her Community.—20. Mrs. McCatee's.—21. Church.—22. Graveyard.

MOUNT ST. MARY'S SEMINARY. FROM A SKETCH BY REV. S. BRUTÉ IN 1822.

Mrs. Elizabeth A. Seton, after her reception into the Church at New York, opened a little school: but the alienation of her early friends, and the condition of Catholic affairs there at that time, made her struggle so hard that she thought of withdrawing to Canada. Dr. Matignon and Rev. Mr. Cheverus, of Boston, and the Rev. J. S. Tisserant, a French priest at Elizabeth, N. J., were, however, her friends and guides, and they soon learned to believe that God called her to special work in this country. In May, 1808, the Rev. William Du Bourg urged her to proceed to Baltimore in order to open a school in a house near the seminary. This the Rev. Mr. Cheverus warmly recommended: "Such an establishment would be a public benefit to religion, and we hope, a real advantage to yourself and amiable family. We infinitely prefer it to your project of a retreat in Montreal." She accordingly sailed from New York with her daughters in a Baltimore packet on the 9th of June, and took up her residence in a house still standing in Paca Street near the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Here her heart expanded with holy joy. Near a chapel where she could hear mass every day from daylight to eight o'clock, and attend Vespers and Benediction every evening, her happiness was complete. Her first scholars were nieces of the Rev. Mr. Du Bourg. Others soon came. Miss Cecilia O'Conway became her assistant and other ladies were soon ready to join her, desirous of their own spiritual advancement and of serving the poor.[1] The next year it was deemed best to give them a habit, consisting of a plain black gown and cap, with plaited border and a rosary hanging from the girdle. Mrs. Seton took the three simple vows of religion, in the hands of Bishop Carroll

[1] Rev. Wm. Du Bourg to Mrs. E. A. Seton, May 2, 1808; Rev. J. Cheverus to same, May 12, 1808.



HOUSE ON PACA STREET, BALTIMORE, WHERE MRS. SETON FOUNDED HER COMMUNITY.

on her knees before a crucifix, to be binding for one year's time only, but to be renewed at stated periods, if she should so wish to engage herself.

A gentleman named Cooper, a convert like herself, about this time projected a manufactory for the use of the poor and purchased some property at Emmittsburg, in Frederick County, Maryland. The education of children rich and poor was part of his plan, and he invited Mrs. Seton to take charge of that department. Accordingly in May, 1809, Mrs. Seton with her daughter, two sisters of her late husband and one of the ladies who had joined her, proceeded to Emmittsburg. Finding the building on Mr. Cooper's property as yet unfit for them, they took up their residence in a log-hut erected on the side of the mountain below St. Mary's church, by Rev. John Du Bois. Those left in Baltimore soon joined them.

On the 20th of February, 1810, the Sisters left their temporary home to take possession of the log structure erected on their own property, and which has ever since been the site of St. Joseph's Academy. It was a small two-story building with a high porch in front, standing in the valley between the mountain and the village. The house was blessed by Rev. Mr. Du Bois, and the Community placed under the special patronage of St. Joseph.[1]

The Sisterhood thus formed and consisting of ten members began at once to teach poor children, to visit the sick, and before long opened a boarding-school for girls. In October, 1809, Bishop Carroll visited the new and interesting establishment which augured so much good to the Church. The next year Bishop Flaget, returning from Europe to be

[1] Seton, "Memoir, Letters, and Journal," ii., pp. 14–52. The view of St. Joseph's is from a piece of needlework preserved by the Sisters of Charity at Haverstraw, N. Y., to whose kindness I am indebted for its use.

consecrated, brought a copy of the "Constitutions and Rules of the Sisters of Charity" (Filles de la Charité) founded by St. Vincent de Paul. These were made the basis of regulations which were prepared by some of the Sulpitians for Mrs. Seton's Community. There were, however, points which did not receive Archbishop Carroll's approval, and these were after serious deliberation altered by them. He also made it distinctly understood that they were not to be in matter of spiritual or temporal direction subject to the Community of St. Sulpice at Baltimore, though their Director might be of that body and the Superior at Baltimore might



FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF E. A. SETON.

individually on rare and uncommon occasions exercise some powers. "I am exceedingly anxious," he wrote, "that every allowance shall be made, not only to the Sisters generally, but to each one in particular, which can serve to give quiet to their consciences, provided that this be done without endangering the harmony of the community; and therefore it must become a matter of regulation." "It has been my endeavor when I read the constitutions, to consult, in the first place, the individual happiness of your dear Sisters, and consequently your own; 2ndly, to render their plan of life useful to religion and to the public; 3dly, to confine the administration of your own affairs, and the internal and domestic government, as much as possible to your own institutions once adopted, and within your own walls." "I shall congratulate you and your beloved Sisters when the Constitution is adopted. It will be like freeing you from a state in which it was difficult to walk straight, as you had no certain way in

which to proceed. In the meantime assure yourself and them of my utmost solicitude for your advancement in the service and favor of God; of my reliance on your prayers; of mine for your prosperity in the important duty of education, which will and must long be your principal, and will always be your partial, employment. A century at least will pass before the exigencies and habits of this country will require and hardly admit of the charitable exercises towards the sick, sufficient to employ any number of Sisters out of our largest cities; and therefore they must consider the business of education as a laborious, charitable, and permanent object of their religious duty." Modified as he suggested, the rule received his approval in 1812,[1] and was adopted by the Community at Emmittsburg. At the first election Mrs. Elizabeth A. Seton was chosen Mother Superior, and was periodically re-elected as long as she lived. The Rev. John Du Bois was appointed Superior-General of the Sisters.

Thus, by the providence of God, a lady, born and reared in affluence, amid a purely Protestant social circle, became, after being tried in the furnace of poverty, suffering, and worldly coldness, the foundress of a Community which has to this day, imbued with her spirit, carried out her plans of works of mercy.[2]

[1] "I have read and endeavored before God attentively to consider the Constitutions of the Sisters of Charity submitted to me by the Rev. Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpitius, and I have approved of the same, believing them to be inspired by the Spirit of God, and suitable to conduct the Sisters to religious perfection.

"✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Baltimore.

"BALTIMORE, January 17, 1812."

[2] White, "Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton, Foundress and first Superior of the Sisters or Daughters of Charity in the United States," New York, 1853; Baltimore, 1856; Paris, 1857. Seton, "Memoir, Letters, and Journal of Elizabeth Seton," 2 vols., New York, 1869; Mme. de Barberey, "Elizabeth Seton," Paris, 1868.


View of St Joseph's House near Emmetsburg worked at the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum New York by Mary A. Richards A.D. 1817

Mother Seton received in November, 1810, a visit from Bishop Cheverus of Boston and Bishop Egan of Philadelphia, who had recently been consecrated in Baltimore. Though Dr. Cheverus had long been the friend, correspondent, and wise counsellor of Mother Seton, they had never met till this occasion when he beheld her with her spiritual children and her academy daily increasing in numbers and credit.

The Sovereign Pontiff added to Dr. Carroll's burthens in 1811 by investing him with ordinary jurisdiction over the Danish islands of Santa Cruz, St. Thomas and St. John, the Dutch island of St. Eustatia as well as Barbuda, St. Kitts and Antigua, with authority to appoint two prefects, one for the Danish and one for the other islands, and to invest them with the power of administering confirmation. He was naturally alarmed at this new responsibility, but as letters had reached him in regard to the condition of affairs there, he was aware that good priests had been innocently exercising the ministry under jurisdiction not recognized at Rome as competent. Archbishop Carroll, seeing that there was danger in delay, accordingly appointed the Rev. Henry Kendall Prefect and Rev. Mr. Hérard Vice-Prefect, that the faithful in the Danish isles might enjoy the exercises of the ministry; and he endeavored to ascertain the state of religion in the other islands confided to his care.[1]

In Charleston the Rev. Mr. Gallagher, who had long used the trustees or vestry to maintain his position against his bishop, found them ready to carry their usurpation further by excluding him from the meetings of the Board. Archbishop Carroll, to check this spirit, addressed the trustees, showing them that by the uniform rule of the diocese the clergy of the church were, in all cases, members of the

[1] Archbishop Carroll to Robert Tuite, of St. Croix.

Board of Trustees, and the pastor the presiding officer. He assured them that if they drove out their present priest they would put him under the necessity of withholding his approbation and the faculties necessary for the lawful exercise of the sacred ministry from any priest whom they attempted to set in his place.[1]

In October the Sulpitians received intelligence of the death of their Superior, Rev. Mr. Emery, and Archbishop Carroll took part in the solemn service offered in Baltimore for the repose of his soul, feeling deeply how much, under Providence, his diocese owed to the congregation over which Rev. Mr. Emery presided.

About the same time some debated questions greatly divided the Vicars-Apostolic of England, and both parties sought to place their views in the most favorable light before the Archbishop of Baltimore, a letter from Bishop Milner being followed by one from the other Vicars-Apostolic of England.[2]

The subjects were fortunately not such as affected the Church in the United States. In England Blanchard and other French priests denounced Pius VII. as having betrayed the Church in his concordat with Napoleon. The English Vicars-Apostolic in general had not repressed these rebellious men as decidedly as the Irish Bishops and Dr. Milner had done, and in the hope of obtaining from the English government the emancipation of Catholics had signed a resolution which virtually conceded to the British government a control over the appointment of the Catholic

[1] Archbishop Carroll to the Vestry of Charleston, September 15, 1811; "U. S. Catholic Miscellany," ii., p. 24.

[2] Right Rev. John Milner to Archbishop Carroll, May 4, 1811; Right Rev. William Gibson, etc., to same, November 27, 1811; Archbishop Troy to same, March 1, 1811.

bishops in England. Against any such concession, Bishop Milner and the Irish Bishops protested.

In the United States there was no sympathy among French priests for the rebellious clergymen in England, and our Constitutions made State interference with the appointment of bishops highly improbable, although before the death of Archbishop Carroll the Holy See took a step which might have provoked from our own government peremptory and severe measures.

Archbishop Carroll cautiously refrained from taking part in the discussions in the British Isles, and while he condemned all weakness in dealing with any disregard of the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, he forbore to express any opinion as to the steps to be taken to remove from the minds of English statesmen all idea of any disloyalty of the Catholic bishops.

On the 18th of August Dr. Carroll, who had hitherto been Archbishop-elect, was invested with the pallium, which was at last brought to Baltimore by the British Minister to the United States. The ceremony was performed with all due solemnity by Bishop Neale, on the 18th of August, in his pro-cathedral. The joy felt by the clergy and faithful of his city and diocese at this crowning ceremony of his promotion to the rank of metropolitan, found an echo throughout the country, which was expressed by Bishop Cheverus when he wrote: "That you may for many years wear this vesture of holiness is the wish of all your children in Jesus Christ, and God in his mercy will, I hope, hear their prayers and prolong the life of our beloved and venerable Father." [1]

When Archbishop Carroll and his suffragans separated

[1] Bishop Cheverus to Archbishop Carroll, October 8, 1811; Bishop Carroll to Father Chas. Plowden, January 27, 1812; Certificate of Bishop Neale; Archbishop Carroll to Cardinal Pietro, 1812.

after their meeting at Baltimore in 1810, it was agreed among them that a provincial council should be held not later than the first of November, 1812. Meanwhile Bishops Cheverus, Flaget, and Egan had assumed the direction of their respective dioceses, and questions had arisen in Kentucky and Pennsylvania which Bishop Flaget and Bishop Egan thought well to have settled in a council. In Kentucky Bishop Flaget had visited all the churches and stations



INTERIOR OF ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA
[From an old water-color preserved there.]

in the State, obtaining a personal knowledge of the condition and wants of the main part of his large diocese. Questions arose as to the tenure of church property, in which the Bishop and his Vicar-General, Very Rev. Stephen T. Badin, were far from entertaining harmonious views, and the precise relations of the episcopate to regular orders was to be adjusted. Bishop Egan had also made a visitation of his diocese, crossing the mountains and reaching Pittsburg. At St. Mary's church, which he had selected as his pro-cathedral, the trustees had already evinced a disposition to treat

the head of the diocese as a hireling whose maintenance depended on their option. Moreover, he had found priests, whom he had placed in his pro-cathedral, refractory and inclined to take part against him. Investigation led to the discovery by the bishop of the deed for the ground on which St. Mary's church stood, executed to Father Robert Harding, from whom it passed by will to Father Francis Neale, thus at the time the real owner of the church where the trustees put forward such arrogant claims.



SIGNATURE OF FATHER FRANCIS NEALE.

As the Society of Jesus had not been openly restored by the Sovereign Pontiff, Archbishop Carroll regarded the members in Maryland and Pennsylvania as still secular priests. When Father Britt was recalled from Trinity church, Philadelphia, without the knowledge or consent of Bishop Egan, he declined to give him faculties till he obtained the necessary papers from the Bishop of Philadelphia.

There were thus questions to be discussed in a council; but Bishop Cheverus, who had enjoyed great peace in his diocese, and given much aid to religion in the diocese of New York, where Father Kohlmann as Administrator was making great progress, considered a council as yet premature and unnecessary, although he deferred to the opinion of the Metropolitan ready to attend.[1]

The great and decided obstacle to holding a council was the impossibility of communicating with the Sovereign Pontiff, then a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon, and

[1] Bishop Cheverus to Archbishop Carroll, August 31, 1812. Archbishop Carroll wrote in reply that his reasons appeared decisive. Same to same, December 30, 1812.

cut off from all intercourse with the bishops throughout the world.[1]

In September Archbishop Carroll wrote to Bishop Flaget, informing him that the projected council had been postponed indefinitely, but before the letter reached Kentucky the Bishop of Bardstown was already on his way to Baltimore.[2]

In June, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain, and the country was filled with excitement. While Protestant ministers in some parts denounced the government in their pulpits and writings, the Catholics everywhere manifested loyalty and fidelity. Though personally opposed to the policy of those who had insisted on the declaration of war, Archbishop Carroll lent all his influence to support the national government. When the President appointed a day of prayer, Archbishop Carroll issued a circular, in which he said: "In compliance with this recommendation and considering that we, the members of the Catholic Church, are at least equally indebted as our fellow-citizens to the Bestower of every good gift for past and present blessings, stand in the same need of His protection, and ought to feel an equal interest in the welfare of these United States, during the awful crisis now hanging over them, I cannot hesitate to require the respective clergymen employed in the care of souls throughout this diocese, to invite and encourage the faithful under their pastoral charge to unite on Thursday, August 20th, for divine worship, most particularly in offering through the ministers of the Church, the august and salutary sacrifice of Grace, the Body and Blood of the Lamb of God, which

[1] The first action of the Holy See in regard to a Provincial Council seems to be the Brief "Non sine magno" of Pius VII., August 3, 1823.

[2] Archbishop Spalding, "Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of the Right Rev. B. J. Flaget," Louisville, 1852, pp. 106, 111-2.

takes away the sins of the world, to implore through it divine aid and protection in all our lawful pursuits, public and private, to shield us in danger, and to restore and secure to us the return of the days of peace; a happy peace in this life, and above all that peace which the world cannot give." [1]

At the very outset of the war, the old Catholic city of Detroit fell into the hands of the English, and Rev. Gabriel Richard was carried off and confined as a prisoner. For a time the struggle was chiefly on the northern frontier, but ere long British vessels began depredations on the shores of the Chesapeake.

Yet even during the war, when distress was general, there was progress in the diocese of Baltimore. The church at Augusta, Georgia, was completed by Rev. R. Browne, who dedicated it to the service of God on Christmas day.[2] The Catholics at Richmond obtained from one of their number the gift of a lot for the erection of a church; they appealed to the Archbishop for a priest, promising to bend all their energies to the speedy completion of the sacred edifice.[3]

Amid the turmoil of war came the cheering intelligence of the fall of Napoleon, the liberation of the Sovereign Pontiff and his restoration to Rome. On the 7th of July, 1814, the Archbishop of Baltimore issued a Pastoral to his flock.

"The Holy Catholic Church," it began, "has mourned for many years over the sufferings and captivity of her visible Head, the successor of Saint Peter, and Vicar upon earth of our Lord Jesus Christ. Every day at the august sacrifice of the New Testament we offered our prayers and entreated

[1] Circular, August 6, 1812.

[2] Rev. R. Browne to Archbishop Carroll, October 6, 1812; May 24, 1813.

[3] Catholics of Richmond to Archbishop Carroll, March 25, 1812.

Almighty God for the deliverance of his servant Pius VII. and for the renewal of a free intercourse between him and the Christian people committed to his fatherly solicitude. United together on the Lord's day we repeated with redoubled confidence our humble petition that it would please divine Goodness to enable our chief Pastor to feed the flock of Christ with the food of wholesome doctrine and salutary instructions as well as to edify them by continuing to exhibit bright examples of patience, resignation, magnanimity, and unlimited confidence in the promises made to that Church which was purchased by the Blood of the Son of God. Nevertheless the rigor of confinement was increased, new obstacles were interposed to intercept all communication between his Holiness and those who needed his paternal counsels and guidance. Entire regions and provinces were destitute of any pastors. The integrity of Catholic doctrine, the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline were exposed to the open violence and hostility of their declared enemies, and liable to be undermined by the artifices of corrupt seducers."

He then depicted the exultation of the infidels and enemies of the Church as though they had made false the promises of Christ to His Church. He showed the firm and unyielding constancy of Pius VII. "Insults, injustice, oppression, spoliations, banishment, rigorous imprisonment, threats, promises have had no effect on the faithful Vicar of our Lord, or on his venerable Predecessor. Perhaps since the first wonderful propagation of the Christian religion and its rapid extension throughout the regions of the then known world, no other era since the days of the Apostles has exhibited such splendid proofs to revive the faith of the wavering, to confirm the timid Christian, or to excite in mankind generally a certain belief and reliance on the promises of the Saviour of the World." The bishops, priests, and faithful, put to

death for their religion, pleaded before God for His Church and the preservation of its government. Their prayers had been answered, and by a chain of events the divine protection of the Church had been manifested to the world so strikingly and clearly that even those separated from the Church could scarcely be excused if they failed to recognize in the restoration of the Sovereign Pontiff the finger of God. He therefore appointed a solemn TE DEUM to be chanted in his pro-cathedral on Sunday, the 10th of July, and in other churches of his diocese on the Sunday following the reception of the pastoral.[1]

The joy was general, and the Te Deum was chanted in all the churches as soon as the grand pastoral of the Archbishop became known.

But while this hymn of thanksgiving was arising before the altars of the Catholic churches, the terrors of war were turned upon the shores of the Chesapeake. In the summer of 1814, Washington, the capital of the country, was taken, and in disregard of all the customs of civilized nations, the captors destroyed most of the public buildings, the library, and archives. Bishop Neale was at Georgetown, but that place with the College and Visitation Convent escaped. "Georgetown has to be singularly grateful to God for his extraordinary protection," wrote Bishop Neale. "For during the enemy's stay and rage in the city, not one of them entered Georgetown or injured anything belonging to it. Deo infinitas gratias."[2]

The aged Archbishop then beheld his episcopal city invested by the enemy, and Fort McHenry bombarded. But

[1] Pastoral Letter, July 7, 1814.

[2] Bishop Neale to Archbishop Carroll, September 1, 1814.

General Ross was repulsed and killed in the action near Baltimore, and the British forces withdrew.

In October the English vessels were committing such depredations along the Potomac, that services were suspended for a long time in the church at Newtown.[1] On the eve of All Saints, a barge from the British sloop-of-war "Saracen," landed a pillaging party at St. Inigoes, who not only stripped the residence of kitchen and bedroom furniture, carrying off all the clothing of the clergymen, but they extended their sacrilegious hands to the church, seizing all the sacred vessels of the altar, even the ciborium with the Blessed Sacrament. The Commander of the fleet, however, when an appeal was made to him, ordered that all the property should be restored, and much in fact was given up under a flag of truce on the 18th of November.[2]

While Baltimore was menaced by the enemy Archbishop Carroll ordered prayers in the churches to implore the aid and protection of God, especially for those who were called to leave their homes and families for the common defence. "Let them be recommended to divine mercy, through the intercession of the ever Blessed Virgin, the Mother of our Lord, as the chosen Patroness of the diocese, not doubting her readiness to intercede for those who have recourse to her in the time of their need."[3]

When the city had been delivered from its peril the Archbishop issued a Pastoral appointing solemn services of thanks-

[1] Woodstock Letters, iv., p. 67.

[2] Rev. Leonard Edelen to Archbishop Carroll, October 14, November 21, 1814. Right Rev. B. J. Fenwick, "Brief Account of the Settlement of Maryland, with a notice of St. Inigoes." Woodstock Letters, ix., pp. 167, etc.; Attack on St. Inigoes, "Amer. Hist. Reg.," December, 1873.

[3] Circular, 1814.

giving in the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Patrick on the 20th of October.

After visiting his diocese Bishop Egan, on returning to Philadelphia, found the trustees of St. Mary's pro-cathedral in a hostile combination against him. They openly violated the agreement made at the erection of the See, in which the expenses of consecration were to be met and a fixed salary paid. As they did not even possess a legal title to the land on which the church stood, they might therefore be ejected by the real owners at any time.[1] The good Bishop was, however, too much prostrated and discouraged to enter upon any struggle or litigation with the trustees. The troubles they caused threw him into a nervous disorder, which was heightened by their pertinacious annoyance. While thus suffering in mind and body, the Rev. Messrs. Harold, priests whom he had stationed at St. Mary's and on whom he relied, increased the poignancy of his trials by their ingratitude and insubordination.

Crushed by accumulated afflictions, he could not recover: his health never rallied, and he gradually sank. It may be said in all truth that Bishop Egan died of a broken heart, July 22, 1814.

By his demise the important see of Philadelphia, like that of New York, became vacant. As no regulations had been adopted by the Holy See in regard to nominations for sees in the United States, Archbishop Carroll felt a delicacy in thrusting unsolicited his views as to suitable candidates on the authorities at Rome, although it was soon evident that no such

[1] Bishop Egan to Archbishop Carroll, September 14, 1810; October 14, 1811; March 14, September 28, November 7, December 17, 29, 1812; June 19, July 7, 18, 26, 1813. "That he has been the first victim of Episcopal rights there cannot be the least doubt for his end has been premature." Rev. L. Kenny to Archbishop Carroll, July 22, 1814.

considerations of delicacy restrained prelates in other countries from interfering.

On the 23d of August, 1814, he addressed the following circular letter to Bishop Cheverus and Bishop Flaget:

"Rt. Rev. Sir:

"The lamented death of our venerable Brother in God, the R^t^ Rev. D^r^ Michael Egan, Bishop of Philad^a^, on the 22^nd^ of July, has without doubt caused you to reflect with pain, that an answer has not been received to our joint letter to his Holiness, written in consequence of our deliberations in Nov^r^ 1810, concerning several points for the future government of our American churches, and especially for filling up the vacancies, which would certainly ensue in the Episcopal Sees. That of New York has been long vacant, and the same has lately happened to Philad^a^. You may remember, and see by referring to our proceedings, chapter 4^th^, that we respectfully solicited the permission of the Holy See, (provided it would permit the nomination to vacant Bishoprics to be made in the United States,) to allow that nomination to proceed solely from the Archbishop and Bishops of this Ecclesiastical province.

"No answer having been received, nothing can be done authoritatively in this matter. Yet the condition and distractions of the Church of Philad^a^ require immediate attention. With respect to N. York, it has transpired, that his Holiness, whilst prisoner at Savona, soon after the death of D^r^ Concanen, had it in his consideration, to appoint a Successor, but it being uncertain, whether the appointment was made, no step should be taken in that concern, till we hear from Rome. The case is different at Philad^a^ for the reason alledged above, and tho' no nomination can proceed from any person, or persons in the United States, yet I deem it

advisable to consult you on the propriety of recommending one or more subjects to the Holy See, one of whom may be approved and appointed to succeed D^r^ Egan. If such be your opinion, and that of the other Bishops, I propose moreover to you, to inform me, whether in your opinion likewise we may not proceed immediately on the business; transact it by letter on account of our immense distance. The mode, which appears to me the best suited to the present exigency, is, for the Bishop of Boston, the Administrators of the dioceses of N. York, and Philad^a^, the Bishop of Kentucky, the Coadjutor Bishop of Gortyna, and myself to join in choosing one, two, or three persons, best esteemed by us and send on their names, character, &c., to Rome, with our respective recommendation. Before however our choice be completed, I must request your approbation for me to consult the most discreet and experienced of the Clergy of Pennsylv^a^ as to their opinions concerning the persons who will appear to us most worthy, and fit to govern the Diocess with advantage, and restore its peace.

"I am most respectfully, R. R^d^ Sir,

"Your most obed^t^ S^t^ and B^r^ in X̄t."

No name was mentioned for New York, as that nomination was supposed to have been decided upon. Before the appointment of Bishop Concanen, Dr. Carroll had earnestly advised that no one should be appointed to that see, but that the diocese should for the time being be placed under the control of the Bishop of Boston. Bishop Concanen finding the difficulty of reaching his see almost insurmountable, had petitioned the Sovereign Pontiff to appoint the Rev. Ambrose Maréchal as Coadjutor of the Bishop of New York; and as the American Bishops cordially welcomed the choice, his appointment was considered as settled.[1]

[1] Archbishop Carroll to Rev. C. Plowden, June 25, 1815. "It was

As to the see of Philadelphia, Archbishop Carroll and his Coadjutor with Bishop Cheverus, as well as the clergy of the diocese of Philadelphia, concurred in recommending the Rev. John B. David, whose learning, piety, firm yet amiable manner, seemed to fit him remarkably for a position of more than ordinary difficulty.

As soon as the Pope was restored to Rome, Archbishop Carroll wrote to express the congratulations of the Catholic bishops, clergy, and the people in the United States.[1] He also urged on the Propaganda the necessity of supplying the vacant sees, and repeated the well-considered opinion formed by the surviving bishops and himself. They were all surprised to hear that influence had been exerted at Rome to secure the nomination of the Rev. William V. Harold for the see of Philadelphia.

The danger which the old Maryland priests had feared had proved no delusion. Bishops and others in Europe were urging appointments to sees in this country, ignorant of the actual state of affairs and of the qualities required. Archbishop Troy of Dublin was the centre of these movements, and his interference can be traced in Canada and England, as well as in the United States. The nomination of Bishop Concanen had been chiefly on his recommendation, and he now advocated the appointment of his fellow-religious, Father Harold. The uncle of the latter, not daring to return to Ire-

known here that before the death of Dr. Concanen his Holiness at the Dr.'s entreaty, intended to assign to him as his coadjutor the Rev. Mr. Maréchal, a priest of St. Sulpice, now in the Seminary here, and worthy of any promotion in the Church. We still expected that this measure would be pursued; and therefore we made no presentation or recommendation of any other for that vacant See."

[1] Archbishop Carroll to Pope Pius VII., July, 1814.

land, induced the Archbishop of Bordeaux to join in recommending the appointment.[1]

Archbishop Carroll and Bishops Flaget and Cheverus saw with gloomy forebodings their advice set aside at Rome in deference to that of prelates strangers to the country. Their correspondence showed their fears and anxiety.[2] Dr. Carroll wrote to Cardinal Litta, the Prefect of the Propaganda, that in case of the appointment of a priest who had hastened the death of Bishop Egan, "serious dissensions and secessions from the Church might justly be apprehended," but his prophetic utterances were disregarded, and though the nomination of Father Harold was abandoned, an appointment was made which was followed by these very results.

The appointment made for New York at the instance of Archbishop Troy and other Irish bishops was one almost unparalleled. The choice fell on the Rev. John Connolly of the Order of St. Dominic, and a subject of George III. The United States and Great Britain were then actually at war, and no country in Europe would have failed to resent, under similar circumstances, the appointment of an alien enemy to a bishopric within its borders by refusing him admittance into its territory. The nationality of Bishop Concanen had prevented his reaching America; but without learning experience from that appointment, the authorities at Rome committed a grave national discourtesy in electing to an American

[1] Archbishop Carroll to Cardinal Litta, November 28, 1814.

[2] Archbishop Carroll to Rev. C. Plowden, June 25, 1815. "I wish this may not become a very dangerous precedent fruitful of mischief, by drawing upon our religion a false opinion of the servility of our principles." Bishop Cheverus to Archbishop Carroll, May 11, 1815. "It is certainly astonishing that Prelates in France or Ireland should recommend subjects for the mission here and be listened to, rather than you, and those here you are pleased to consult. We must only pray that everything may work for good."

see the subject of a country actually at war with the United States, and which had just laid its national capital in ashes.

The Right Rev. Dr. Connolly was appointed Bishop of New York, and consecrated on the 6th day of November, 1814. As a British subject he did not dare to come to the United States on account of the war; and he seems to have received from Bishop Concanen, his fellow-religious at Rome, and from those who secured his appointment, a prejudice against Archbishop Carroll and the Bishops and clergy in this country. Bishop Concanen had taken umbrage at the appointment of Father Kohlmann as Vicar-General, and at the establishment of a Jesuit college. Bishop Connolly seems to have shared the same feelings, and to have disapproved generally of the management of the diocese by Father Kohlmann as Administrator. So far as can be ascertained he did not announce his appointment to the venerable Archbishop or his fellow-bishops, or hold any communication with them or the Administrator of the diocese of New York.[1] Intimations of his views evidently reached the country. Father Kohlmann was recalled to Maryland to become master of novices, the college was suspended, the Ursuline nuns prepared to return to Ireland, and Bishop Cheverus, who had in his charity dedicated the new cathedral of Saint Patrick, and frequently administered confirmation in the widowed diocese, felt, when the news of the appointment suddenly arrived, as though he had given offense to one soon to be his episcopal neighbor and brother.[2]

[1] "Dr. Connolly, exceedingly wanted in his diocese, is not yet arrived, nor has he written to any one." Archbishop Carroll to Rev. C. Plowden, July 24, 1815.

[2] Bishop Cheverus to Archbishop Carroll, May 9, 1815. "Had I received the news last week, I would not have consented to give confirmation here." Same to same, New York, May 11, 1815. Bishop Plessis of

Even after the treaty of peace signed at Ghent had been ratified by both countries, Bishop Connolly lingered in Europe, and finally landed in New York unannounced, and without any formal felicitation by the few remaining priests or the leading members of the laity. He might even then have reached Archbishop Carroll, but did not attempt to do so.[1]

In the troubles which environed the first Bishop of Philadelphia, Archbishop Carroll, who esteemed him as a holy and devoted priest and bishop, gave him all possible encouragement, sympathy, and support. He thus became obnoxious to the malcontents there, and to the Rev. Messrs. Harold, who, on their return to Europe, spread many calumnies about him in England and Ireland, which were repeated and carried to Rome. Unfortunately not one of seven or eight letters addressed by him to the Sovereign Pontiff and the Congregation de Propaganda Fide reached Rome, and there is evidence that the authorities there had imbibed strong prejudice against the venerable Archbishop of Baltimore.[2]

The trustees of St. Mary's church, Philadelphia, addressed him, after Bishop Egan's death, in terms of such rude violence, that he replied: "Having assured you that I had no ordinary right to interfere in the administration of the diocese of Philadelphia, during the vacancy of the Episcopal

Quebec, who visited New York, deplored the condition of the diocese, left without a head, for Father Fenwick had really no authority as Administrator, and neither the Metropolitan nor the adjacent Bishop ventured to take any step for fear of giving fresh offense.

[1] "The Shamrock," the only Irish paper then published, November 25, 1815, expressed apprehension for the safety of the ship "Sally," then 70 days at sea, and in its issue of December 2d gives his name among a list of passengers without a single remark.

[2] Archbishop Carroll to Rev. C. Plowden, December 12, 1813; February 8, 1814; June 25, 1815. Cardinal Litta to Archbishop Carroll, 1815.

See, I did not apprehend that any further application would be made to me on the subject contained in your letter of the 8th, which I could not answer before this day. My conduct has been too much misunderstood or misinterpreted already, to leave in me any disposition towards a further discussion of the merit or demerit of former proceedings; I have still less inclination to notice the uncivil and unfounded insinuations leveled at me in your letter. Correspondence should cease, when it is no longer mutually respectful. It is a satisfaction to me to reflect that I was never wanting designedly in respect for the persons, who have waited on me in your behalf."

It was a severe trial sent by Divine Providence to prepare the venerable Archbishop in his last days for a final detachment from all worldly things, and even from the good name acquired by many years of faithful service, to find that in England and Ireland a widespread prejudice had been created against him, and that even the Sovereign Pontiff withdrew his confidence, rejected completely his counsels, although shared by Bishops like Flaget and Cheverus: indeed the hand of death alone saved him from sharp words of censure.

Amid all this trial Archbishop Carroll preserved an unalterable calm, relying on God in His providence to guide His Church in the United States and save it from the consequences of human passions and frailties.

There was, however, one great consolation in these closing days of the Archbishop's life, and that was the complete restoration of the Society of Jesus by Pope Pius VII., on the 7th of August, 1814. The news came, and even more slowly came the Bull of the Sovereign Pontiff. "You, who know Rome," wrote Archbishop Carroll, "may conceive my sentiments when I read the account transmitted in your most

pleasing letter, of the celebration of Mass by His Holiness himself at the superb altar of St. Ignatius at the Gesù; the assemblage of the surviving Jesuits in the chapel to hear the proclamation of their resurrection; the decree for the restitution of the residence in life and scene of the death of their Patriarch, of the novitiate of St. Andrew, its most enchanting church, and the lovely monument and chapel of St. Stanislaus, which, I fondly hope, have escaped the fangs of rapine and devastation. But how many years must pass before these houses will be repeopled by such men as we have known, whose sanctity of manner, zeal for the divine glory, science, eloquence, and talents of every kind rendered them worthy of being the instruments of divine Providence to illustrate His Church, maintain its faith, and instruct all ranks of human society in all the duties of their respective stations." [1]

From the exultation and joy of the members in this country, filled with new zeal by this official recognition of their existence, Archbishop Carroll augured well for the future of religion. The novitiate, removed from St. Inigoes to Whitemarsh, soon had eight or nine novices, showing that vocations would not be wanting.[2]

He and his coadjutor would gladly have laid down their mitres and croziers to assume once more the habit they had worn in their youth, and relinquished only when the decree of the Sovereign Pontiff required it; but they were both beyond the years of active labor, and would be only a burthen. They yielded to the actual condition of affairs.

Georgetown College, under the impulse and guidance of the eminent Father John Grassi, had risen from a temporary

[1] Archbishop Carroll to Rev. Marmaduke Stone, January 5, 1815; Woodstock Letters, x., p. 112.

[2] Rev. B. J. Fenwick to Rev. J. Grassi.

depression and attained a high rank in numbers and efficiency, and the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, established in 1810, gathered the best scholars in that society which has done so much to preserve religion among the young. In May, 1815, the Congress of the United States granted Georgetown College a charter, investing it with all the powers of a University.[1]

Active steps were taken to extend education among the poor, and a striking instance was the organization of St. Patrick's Benevolent Society at Baltimore, by Rev. John F. Moranvillé, to maintain a school in that parish. St. Patrick's school preceded all public schools in Baltimore.[2]

The condition of the Church in Louisiana had caused constant anxiety to Archbishop Carroll, and even after he had decided that the Rev. William Du Bourg was the clergyman best fitted to restore order and discipline in that territory, difficulties intervened, and it was not till the 18th of August, 1812, that, under the powers imparted by the Holy See, Archbishop Carroll appointed him Administrator-Apostolic of the diocese of Louisiana and the two Floridas.[3] The Very Rev. Mr. Du Bourg accepted the onerous duty, relieving the venerable Archbishop of a heavy burthen. He proceeded at once[4] to New Orleans and set to work to continue the work effected under Dr. Carroll's administratorship by his Vicars-General. The new Administrator was a brilliant and learned man, but lacked courage and firmness. His first steps disappointed the Archbishop, who had expected him to take possession of the Cathedral and assert his position as

[1] Woodstock Letters, vii., p. 149.

[2] Scharf, "Chronicles of Baltimore," Baltimore, 1874, p. 374.

[3] Archbishop Carroll's Certificate.

[4] He left Baltimore October 18, 1812.

the head of the diocese. The Very Rev. Mr. Du Bourg contented himself with obtaining recognition of his authority from Father Sedella, and did not even attempt to say mass in the Cathedral.[1] He drew the same picture as all others had done of the worthless character of Sedella and his associates, of the laxity of morals, and general neglect of religion among the people. When he proceeded to suspend the most scandalous vicar at the Cathedral, such violence was shown by the abettors of Sedella that the Administrator became alarmed for his safety and withdrew to the parish of Acadie, then vacant.[2]

As the year drew near its close the British land and naval forces menaced New Orleans. On the 18th of December the Very Rev. Administrator issued a pastoral appointing public prayers in the churches of New Orleans, and directing all to implore the protection of heaven "while our brave warriors, led on by the Hero of the Floridas, prepare to defend our altars and firesides against foreign invasion." Gen. Jackson expressed his high approbation of the course of the Administrator, while the wretched Sedella, false to the country as he had been false to religion and morality, had intrigued against the national cause.[3]

While the battle was raging between the untrained American troops and the English veterans, led by one of Wellington's experienced generals, the ladies of New Orleans gathered in the chapel of the Ursuline Nuns before the picture of "Our Lady of Prompt Succor," and as their pious hearts ascribed to her intercession the exercise of the Power that

[1] Very Rev. W. Du Bourg to Archbishop Carroll, February 29, 1813; August 17, 1813.

[2] Same to same, July 2, 1814.

[3] "The Battle of New Orleans," Baltimore, 1825, pp. 23–27; Gayarré, "History of Louisiana," New York, 1866, p. 154.



NOTRE DAME DE PROMT SECOURS

Mr L. Guil. du Bourg Evêque de la Louisiane accorde 40 jours d'indulgence à ceux qui visiteront dévotement un Pater et un Ave devant cette image.

turned the tide of battle from their firesides and homes, devotion increased so much that the picture was engraved and indulgences granted by Dr. Du Bourg after his consecration as Bishop to encourage this confidence in the intercession of Mary.

After his glorious victory over the British forces under Packenham, General Jackson addressed the Very Rev. Mr. Du Bourg to ask a public service of thanksgiving in the Cathedral.[1] The service was performed on the 23d, the Administrator-Apostolic meeting the victorious general at the door of the Cathedral with an eloquent address.[2]

All this gave the Very Rev. Dr. Du Bourg official recognition as head of the diocese and of the Cathedral. He soon after prepared to go to Europe, leaving the Rev. Mr. Sibourd as his vicar-general, as it had been notified to him that he was proposed for the see of Philadelphia if he declined that of New Orleans.[3]

After his departure Sedella again showed his artful, litigious character and persevering opposition to a due submission to any ecclesiastical authority. Archbishop Carroll sustained Rev. Mr. Sibourd and addressed a letter to Gov. Claiborne, assuring him that the Very Rev. Mr. Du Bourg, in appointing Rev. Mr. Sibourd, had acted under the direction and in full conformity with the rules of discipline of the Church and its spiritual government.[4]

In the summer of 1815 Archbishop Carroll showed signs

[1] General Jackson to Rev. Abbé Du Bourg, January 19, 1815, in Latour, "Historical Memoir of the War," Philadelphia, 1816, p. lxviii.

[2] Address in Latour, p. lxxi., etc.; "The Battle of New Orleans," pp. 29–36; Gayarré, "History of Louisiana," New York, 1866, pp. 508, etc.

[3] Very Rev. William Du Bourg to Archbishop Carroll, April 21, 1815.

[4] Archbishop Carroll to Very Rev. L. Sibourd, 1815; same to Governor Claiborne.

of increasing weakness, and though the veneration of his fellow-citizens induced them to invite him to lay the corner-stone of the Washington monument on the anniversary of national independence, his infirmity compelled him to decline the honor. He was taken to Washington for a time, but returned early in July. Though his health was evidently failing he retained his cheerful serenity, and continued the care of his diocese, the condition of the affairs of the Church in Charleston requiring his prudent and fatherly action.[1]

It was almost the close of his official life, for early in November he grew alarmingly ill. The best medical aid was summoned, but it was soon evident that there was a general decay of the vital forces arising from the weakness of advanced age. When his recovery was despaired of, his illness became the general concern of the city where he had so long enjoyed universal respect, veneration, and esteem. On the 22d of November the whole Seminary attended the solemn administration of the viaticum and extreme unction.[2] After receiving the last sacraments, "he made a beautiful and pathetic address of ten or fifteen minutes to them, in a firm and audible voice, perfectly connected throughout, and particularly appropriate to the occasion."

A few days after, one of his relatives wrote: "My uncle had a better night than his friends and doctors were apprehensive and afraid he would have, and he has been more composed and in less pain all day than he was yesterday. These are all favorable symptoms, but the physicians do not think that they ought to shed a gleam of hope upon his recovery. Delusive as they are, however, they are all infinitely consoling to the anxious and solicitous friends, which,

[1] Archbishop Carroll to Vestry of Charleston, July 27, October 28, 1815.

[2] Tessier, "Epoques du Séminaire."

it would seem, from being at his house one day, included the whole population of Baltimore, who are constantly calling to inquire about, and to urge for permission to see him. His mind is as vigorous as ever it was, and whenever any person goes to his room, you would be pleased and astonished at his readiness in adapting his conversation and questions to the situation and circumstances of the person introduced. At times he is not only cheerful but even gay, and he is never impatient or fretful." [1]

When one of the distinguished Protestant clergymen of the city came to take a last farewell and said that his hopes were now fixed on another world, the dying Archbishop replied: "Sir, my hopes have always been fixed on the Cross of Christ."

His perfect resignation to the will of God, his calm and serene faith and hope were seen when his life was almost at its last ebb. The clergy in attendance were consulting in an adjoining room on the last rites and the rites of burial for a prelate of his exalted rank. A book was required which was in the room where he lay. One of them very gently entered the apartment, but Archbishop Carroll recognized the step, and calling the priest to his bedside, told him that he was aware of his object, and directed him to a particular shelf where he would find the book they needed. He expressed a wish to be laid on the floor to die, and asking to have the Miserere read, followed it with earnest devotion. He was conscious to the end, and seeing that he was about to depart, he inquired if a conveyance was prepared to take away his sister and his weeping relatives. He told them that the scene was about to close, and giving them his benediction he turned his head aside and died.

[1] Brent, "Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll," Baltimore, 1843, pp. 207–8.

Fortified by all the consolations of the Church in whose service he had devoted himself from youth, Archbishop Carroll expired, almost with agony, on Sunday, December 3, 1815, about six o'clock in the morning, masses for his happy death being at once followed by the offering of the holy sacrifice for the repose of his soul.

The heartfelt grief of the Catholics was shared by their fellow-citizens. One of the papers of the city, draped in black, the next day expressed the general sympathy by saying that his loss would be "felt and sincerely lamented as an individual loss by all who had the happiness to know him personally, for it was indeed a source of real happiness to have a personal acquaintance with a man so truly amiable." [1]

On Tuesday, the 5th, the solemn mass of requiem was offered in St. Peter's pro-cathedral, where his body had lain in state. His funeral drew more real mourners than had ever been witnessed in Baltimore, as the procession moved through Saratoga, Eutaw, and Franklin Streets, amid the respectful silence of the citizens, who, from door and window, gazed on the solemn line. His body was laid in the chapel of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in a vault which had been prepared in the choir by the clergymen of the institution as the resting-place of their venerated founder, Rev. Mr. Nagot. The cathedral, begun by Archbishop Carroll, had not been completed, and his remains were a precious deposit at Saint Mary's till the anniversary of his death in the year 1824, when, after a solemn mass of requiem, they were conveyed to the cathedral and deposited in a vault beneath the sanctuary, after another solemn sacrifice for the repose of his soul in the grand structure which he founded for the glory of God.[2]

[1] "Federal Gazette," December 4, 1815.

[2] "Baltimore American," December 4, 1824.

Sketches of him appeared immediately after his death in the papers of the day. His life-long friend, Father Charles Plowden, wrote another, redolent of the influence of his merit and virtue; Robert Walsh, one of the earliest of our Catholic literary men, paid an eloquent tribute to his character and work. Others committed to writing their reminiscences of his noble and beneficent career, while broadsides, with a biographical sketch of his life, were circulated, to be preserved in families where his name was held in veneration.[1]

One of the Sulpitians, who labored in the East and the West, wrote of Archbishop Carroll: "A pontiff venerable by his age, by the general and universal esteem and veneration paid him in every place and by every one without exception, retraced and revived in his person the image of the Chief of the Apostles, whose authority he possessed, as he obtained the same success. I often beheld him surrounded by his priests, whom he loved as his children, whom he respected as his worthy fellow-laborers, and by whom he was beloved as a tender and beneficent father."[2]

[1] I have used Reminiscences by Robert Gilmour, Esq., and by George W. P. Custis, Esq., adopted son of Washington. I have two broadsides of different sizes. The biographical sketch in the "Baltimore Gazette" was copied in Thomas O'Conor's "Shamrock," New York.

A solemn requiem was offered for Archbishop Carroll at St. Mary's church on the 22d of December, the church having remained draped in black from the day of his burial. On the 30th of January a solemn requiem was celebrated in St. Peter's church, which had also been draped in mourning since his death. The pro-cathedral was crowded, and the priests of the Seminary and many others attended. Rev. Mr. Gallagher, of Charleston, preached, taking as his text: "Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo," which he very happily applied to the late Archbishop. On the 21st of February a mass was celebrated for him at St. Patrick's church. Tessier, "Epoques du Séminaire."

[2] Dilhet, "Etat de l'Eglise," etc.; Avant Propos.

When the tidings of his demise reached Rome, Cardinal Litta wrote to Archbishop Neale, expressing his profound grief at the intelligence of Archbishop Carroll's death, and the gratifying information that his funeral was celebrated with so much pomp, and attended by such a vast number of people of all ranks and denominations, who thus testified their profound regard for so great a man, and their grief at the loss which had befallen them.

Posterity has retained the veneration and esteem entertained in this country for Archbishop Carroll, and the calm scrutiny of history in our day recognizes the high estimate of his personal virtues, his purity, meekness, prudence, and his providential work in moulding the diverse elements in the United States into an organized church. His administrative ability stands out in high relief when we view the results produced by others who, unacquainted with the country and the Catholics here, rashly promised themselves to cover the land with the blossoms of peace, but raised only harvests of thorns.

With his life of large experience in civil and religious vicissitudes, through whose storms his faith in the mission of the Church never wavered, closed a remarkable period in the history of the Church in the United States. In 1763 Catholicity was apparently crushed never to rise again in the northern parts of the Western Continent; the early Catholic missions in the north and west, the long-suffering Jesuits and their flocks in Maryland, all seemed menaced with extinction under the triumphant tyranny of Protestant intolerance, to the human eye destined to banish all trace of Catholicity from the land as it had done in Florida.

When Archbishop Carroll resigned to the hands of his Maker his life and the office he had held for a quarter of a century, the Church, fifty years before so utterly unworthy

of consideration to mere human eyes, had become a fully organized body instinct with life and hope, throbbing with all the freedom of a new country. An archbishopric and four suffragan sees, another diocese beyond the Mississippi, with no endowments from princes or nobles, were steadily advancing: churches, institutions of learning and charity, all arising by the spontaneous offerings of those who in most cases were manfully struggling to secure a livelihood or modest competence. The diocese of Baltimore had theological seminaries, a novitiate and scholasticate, colleges, convents, academies, schools, a community devoted to education and works of mercy; the press was open to diffuse Catholic truth and refute false or perverted representations. In Pennsylvania there were priests and churches through the mountain districts to Pittsburgh; and all was ripe for needed institutions. In New York, Catholics were increasing west of Albany, and it had been shown that a college and an academy for girls would find ready support at the episcopal city, where a Cathedral had been commenced before the arrival of the long-expected Bishop. In New England the faith was steadily gaining under the wise rule of the pious and charitable Bishop Cheverus. In the West, the work of Badin and Nerinckx, seconded and extended by Bishop Flaget, was bearing its fruit. There was a seminary for priests, communities of Sisters were forming, and north of the Ohio the faith had been revived in the old French settlements, and Catholic immigrants from Europe were visited and encouraged. Louisiana had been confided to the zealous and active Bishop Du Bourg, destined to effect so much for the Church in this country. Catholicity had her churches and priests in all the large cities from Boston to Augusta and westward to St. Louis and New Orleans, with many in smaller towns, there being at least a hundred churches and as many priests exercis-

ing the ministry. Catholics were free; the days of penal laws had departed; professions were open to them, and in most States the avenue to all public offices. In the late war with England they had shown their patriotism in the field and on the waves.



ARCHBISHOP CARROLL. FROM THE WAX BUST IN THE BISHOPS' MEMORIAL HALL, NOTRE DAME, IND.

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A HISTORY

OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH

WITHIN THE

LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM THE FIRST ATTEMPTED COLONIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH PORTRAITS, VIEWS, MAPS, AND FAC-SIMILES.

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.



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